DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 129 645 SO 009 326

AUTHOR	Rivera, Charles R.; Switzer, Kenneth A.
TITLE	Violence. Hayden American Values Series: Challenges and Choices.
PUB DATE	76
NOTE	143p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Hayden Book Company, Inc., 50 Essex Street, Rochelle Park, New Jersey 07662 ($3.72 paperback)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Anti Social Behavior; Case Studies; Futures (of Society); Learning Activities; *Moral Issues; Political Issues; Secondary Education; Social Attitudes; Social History; Social Problems; Social Studies; *Social Values; Sociology; United States History; *Violence

ABSTRACT

This book provides a framework for examining violence as a social issue in contemporary society. Discussion is limited to violence as it occurs in the United States. The book can be used as a teacher resource or a secondary-level reader on violence, giving an historical background and a discussion of violence as a social phenomenon. The framework includes case studies illustrating the issue by focusing on human situations, factual information about the issue which can be used as evidence in making social decisions, divergent views and opposing value judgments showing a variety of values involved in solving the issue, futuristic scenarios illustrating possible consequences of social decisions in future human situations, suggestions for involvement in the issues and the decisions, and recommendations for further study. Corresponding chapter titles are (1) The Dimensions of Violence: Cases; (2) A World of Violence; (3) The American Way of Violence; (4) The Study of Violence; (5) Divergent Views on Violence; (6) Violence: Attitudes and Actions; (7) Violence: Possibilities or Probabilities; and (8) Resources and Activities. Suggested classroom activities include action projects, readings, and films. (ND)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

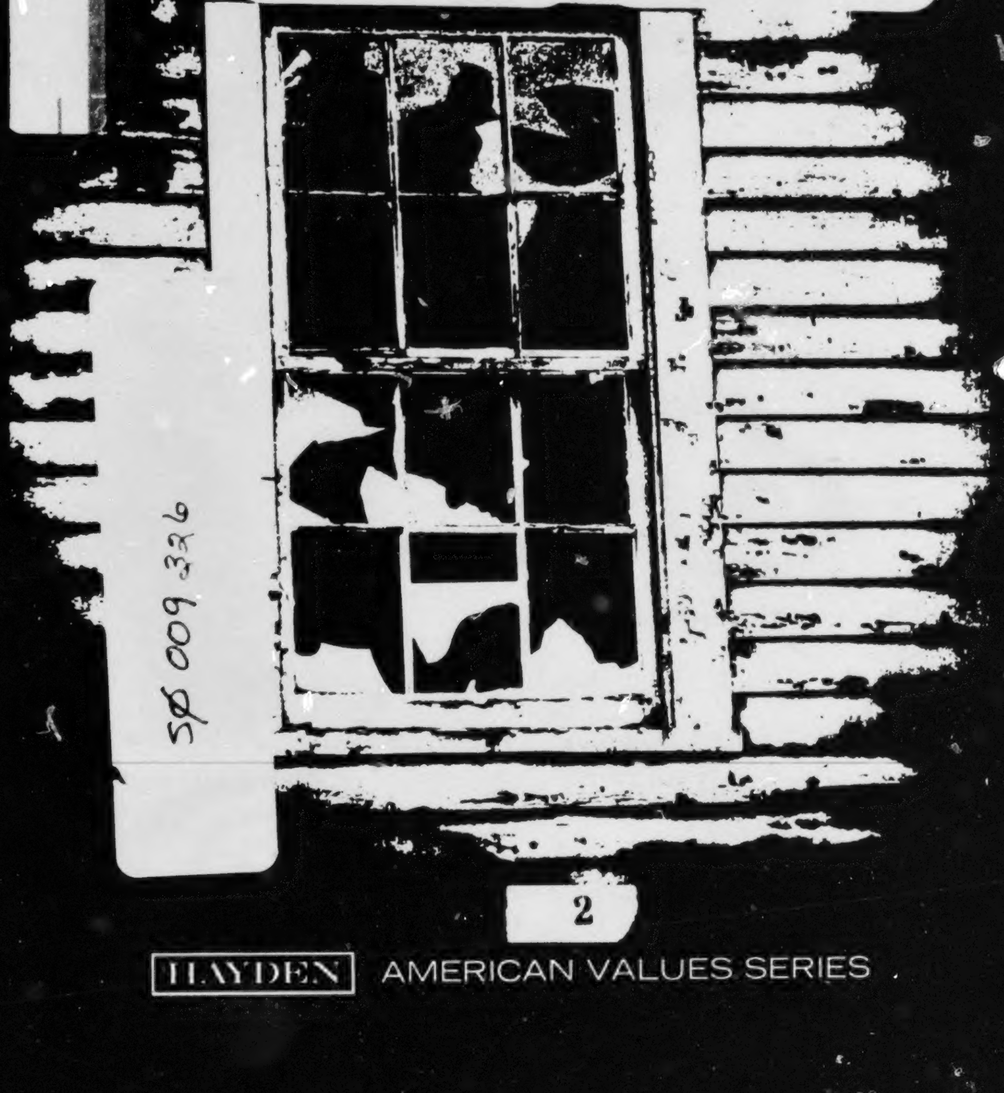
ED129645

Violence

CHARLES RIVERA & KENNETH SWITZER

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL BY MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
S. William Cook, Jr.
TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY



SO 009 326

2

HAYDEN AMERICAN VALUES SERIES

JUN 9 1976

Violence

HAYDEN AMERICAN VALUES SERIES:
Challenges & Choices

JACK L. NELSON, *Series Editor*

Department of Science and Humanities Education
Rutgers University

Current Titles:
THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN
Sylvia Feldman
THE ENVIRONMENT: A Human Crisis
Michael Piburn
DISSENT AND PROTEST
David Naylor
CITY LIFE
William Lowe
WAR AND WAR PREVENTION
Joseph Moore & Roberta Moore
URBAN GROWTH
Paul Wilhelm & Robert Torrone
VALUES AND SOCIETY
Jack L. Nelson
VIOLENCE
Charles Rivera & Kenneth Switzer
RACISM AND PREJUDICE
Charles Billings
HEALTH CARE
Ruth Kolman

Violence

CHARLES R. RIVERA

formerly Director
Center for Teaching International Relations
Graduate School of International Studies
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado

KENNETH A. SWITZER

formerly Research Associate
Center for Teaching International Relations

HAYDEN BOOK COMPANY, INC.
Rochelle Park, New Jersey

To our wives—who encouraged and helped
To our parents—who inspired

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Rivera, Charles R
Violence.

(Hayden American values series)
Bibliography: p.
Includes index.
SUMMARY: Examines the nature of physical, psychological, individual, and cultural violence, its causes and effects, and the chances of its elimination.
1. Violence. [1. Violence] I. Switzer, Kenneth A., joint author. II. Title.
HM291.R56 301.6'33 75-33011
ISBN 0-8104-5909-4

Copyright © 1976 by HAYDEN BOOK COMPANY, INC. All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted, or reproduced, or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the Publisher.

Printed in the United States of America

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 PRINTING
76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 YEAR

Design A. Victor Schwarz
Editorial S. W. Cook
Production Irene Groff
Consultant Dr. Abraham Resnick

Editor's Introduction

How old will you be in the year 2000?

How will the world be different?

If you could choose, what things would you change between now and then?

What would you want to leave unchanged?

Social problems such as discrimination, pollution, crime, and poverty are the result of decisions made in the past. Are there solutions for these and other problems? Will they have changed by the year 2000?

What new challenges are likely to develop?

What choices are now available?

America shares a dominant value with many parts of the world—the idea of a democratic society based on human rights and social justice. This is not always achieved, and there are many disputes over how it can be achieved, but basic documents like the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution express the strong belief that this value is worth the struggle against repression, ignorance, and intolerance. A democratic society depends upon thoughtful and enlightened citizens. The challenges of social issues demand critical inquiry. The choices involve consequences for the future.

The HAYDEN AMERICAN VALUES SERIES: CHALLENGES AND CHOICES presents social issues in contemporary society. This book provides a framework for examining one of these issues. A similar format is found in each book. Each includes:

- Case studies illustrating the issue by focusing on human situations.
- Factual information about the issue which can be used as evidence in making social decisions.
- Divergent views and opposing value judgments showing a variety of values involved in solving the issue.
- Futuristic scenarios illustrating possible consequences of social decisions in future human situations.
- Suggestions for involvement in the issues and the decisions.
- Recommendations for further study.

J. L. N.

Contents

1. The Dimensions of Violence: Cases 1
Damn That Kid, 1 The Gangland Way, 2 Violence for Fun and Profit, 2 Bloody Bangladesh, 3 Stop Them at All Costs, 5 Silent Agony Ends for Cadet at Point, 11 Kidnapping for Christ, 12

2. A World of Violence 14
What Is Violence?, 14 Violence: Mental to Physical, 15 Violence: Degrees of Magnitude, 16 Conclusion, 22

3. The American Way of Violence 23
The Historical Perspective, 23 The Diversity of Violence, 26 Conclusion, 31

4. The Study of Violence 33
Introduction, 33 Understanding Violence, 34 Explanations of Violence, 35 Theories of Deprivation, 36 Theories of Expectations, 42 Theories of Frustration, 44 Conclusion, 47

5. Divergent Views on Violence 48
Introduction, 48 Systemic Theories, 48 Group Conflict Theories, 58 Conclusion, 66

6. Violence: Attitudes and Actions 67
Introduction, 67 Violence against the Status Quo, 67 Violence for the Preservation of Order and Stability, 72 Nonviolent Action for Change, 80 Other Ways of Looking at Violence, 87

7. Violence: Possibilities or Probabilities? 91
Introduction, 91 The Second Revolution, 92 The New Way, 98 A Question of Freedom, 100 The Games, 102 The Judgment, 103

8. Resources and Activities 105
For Further Study, 105 Action Projects, 112 Selected Resouces for Teachers—General, 116 Resources for Designing Instruction, 118

Index 131

Violence

Chapter 1

The Dimensions of Violence: Cases

Damn That Kid

Richard Kisler was too young to know about stereo sets. He was only two years old and, like others of that age, he liked to explore. While Richard tried to behave, he had a child's natural curiosity. Part of his explorations one day included trying to figure out his father's stereo. In moments the stereo was broken.

Bill Kisler, Richard's father, worked hard to provide some pleasures for his young family and himself. Bill was 20 years old and had taken a job he didn't like, but which paid well enough to cover expenses. The new stereo was a kind of gift to himself. It cost more money than he had, but credit payments permitted him to buy it. His 19-year-old wife, Helen, was happy that Bill could have some enjoyment.

Bill had come home that afternoon tired and angered at his boss. He was resting with his eyes closed, listening to the stereo when he heard the crash. Richard had succeeded in pulling the cord enough to tip the set off the shelf and now it lay shattered on the floor.

Bill Kisler was enraged. Grabbing Richard, he tied the child's hands with a length of cord and then beat him with his belt and a yardstick.

It took Helen an hour to calm Bill and convince him to rush the child to a hospital. That night Richard died of multiple fractures and bruises.

The Gangland Way

The Japanese gangster, the *yakuza*, today seems as much a lasting feature of Japanese life as the ancient tea ceremony or reverence for the Japanese Emperor. By clinging to a stern tradition of duty, the gamblers and thieves who make up the Japanese underworld have managed to maintain a well-ordered criminal segment of society for more than 300 years. The Japanese police often announce campaigns to eliminate *yakuza* crimes and establish a greater degree of law and order, yet few of the Japanese people seem to take these cleanup drives seriously. One reason for such skepticism is that the few major criminals who are rounded up are rarely convicted or, if convicted, seldom spend much time in prison.

Yet despite attempts by the underworld leaders to enforce strict rules for conducting crime, Japanese criminal society has been undergoing a number of drastic changes as discipline among the gangsters has broken down. In the past, crimes of violence were not tolerated. Today, however, a new type of gangster specializes not only in violent crime against the average Japanese citizen but also in violence against other criminal leaders and gangs. Indeed, crimes of violence are on the rise in Japan and gang wars similar to those which have occurred in the United States are becoming a possibility.

This trend has sparked yet another police campaign against Japan's estimated 140,000 gang members. This time the local police have been joined by agencies of the national government including the Tax Administration Agency which plans to launch a nation-wide "tax offensive" against gangland organizations. As one official remarked: "We have learned from the American crime problem that it is easier to imprison gang leaders on charges of tax evasion than on other criminal charges. We hope to not only learn from America's war on crime but to conduct the Japanese fight for law and order in a much more efficient manner."

Violence for Fun and Profit

Finback Whales—reduced from 400,000 to 100,000 by 1971.
Blue Whales—reduced from 100,000 to 1,000 by 1971.
Humpback Whales—reduced from many thousands to a few thousand by 1971.

Few species of aquatic life today are in greater danger of extermination than the great whales of the world's oceans. Overfishing of whales began in the last century but today, with modern fishing fleets and a growing demand for whale oil, these large animals face possible extinction. A twelve-nation International Whaling Commission is presently attempting to limit the number of whales killed each year. Many nations, however, do not recognize the Commission's right to regulate their catch of whales, while many conservationists argue that the limits set by the Commission are far too high.

The real tragedy is that this international problem reflects the plight of many animal species. Late in the last century Americans almost wiped out the vast herds of buffalo that roamed the prairies of North America. Today people continue an indiscriminate slaughter of animals for fun and profit. The bloody slaughter of young seals each year for their fur and the recent case of the killing of numerous eagles by ranchers in Colorado and Wyoming are examples of the ruthless means by which people pursue their economic interests at the animals' expense.

Until people realize that the mass destruction of animal life is a form of violence which debases human existence and destroys natural beauty and resources, this problem will not be resolved. Today some conservationists are working to protect the world's animal life but given the past greed and insensitivity of humans, it may be a case of too little and too late for some animal species.

Bloody Bangladesh

(The following case is based upon the fight of the Bengal people of East Pakistan to gain their independence from West Pakistan. The story of Ismatar is true, taken from an interview with her reported in the June 28, 1971, issue of *Newsweek*.)

Bengal dead—estimated between 200,000 and 400,000.
Bengal refugees in India—estimated between 7 and 9 million.
West Pakistan prisoners in East Pakistan—100,000.
Daily war costs to West Pakistan—2 million dollars.
Daily costs to India for refugee care—2 to 3 million dollars.

These statistics are a grim reminder of the death and destruction which befall a nation torn by civil war. This is not an isolated example; similar statistics could easily be gathered on the recent Biafra-Nigeria civil war in Africa, the seemingly endless civil wars in Southeast Asia, or the conflict in Northern Ireland.

In December 1970 the Pakistan elections were dominated in East Pakistan by the Awami League led by Sheik Mujibur ("Mujib") Rahman. Fearing the growing power of the Bengal people of the East, the leaders of West Pakistan refused to convene the newly elected Congress. Demonstrations in the East led to the imprisonment of "Mujib" and violent confrontations between Bengal demonstrators and the Pakistani army. Escalating tactics on both sides led to a full-scale civil war and the intervention by Indian troops which allowed East Pakistan finally to achieve independence as the new nation of Bangladesh.

Only partly indicated by the statistics are the terror and atrocities that accompanied the Bengal fight for independence. A personal tale of horror was related by a young Bengal child interviewed at an Indian hospital:

> I am Ismatar, the daughter of the late Ishague Ali. [illegible] father was a businessman in Khustia. About two months ago he left our house and went to his shop and I never saw him again. That same night after I went to bed I heard shouts and screaming, and when I went to see what was happening, the Punjabi soldiers were there. My four sisters were lying dead on the floor, and I saw that they had killed my mother. While I was there they shot my brother—he was a bachelor of science. Then a soldier saw me and stabbed me with his knife. I fell to the floor and played dead. . . . What am I to do? Once I had five sisters and a brother and a father and a mother. Now I have no family. I am an orphan. Where can I go? What will happen to me?

Yet no confrontation between nations or groups of people can be reduced to a simple issue of right versus wrong. If the Pakistani army was guilty of atrocities, the Bengals must be at least partly blamed for initiating the first acts of violence and for carrying out a bloody retaliation against the two million non-Bengal Biharis of East Pakistan who supported the West during the conflict. Only the intervention of their Indian army allies prevented the Bengal guerrilla forces from slaughtering non-Bengal minority groups following the collapse of the Pakistani army.

The task ahead for "Mujib" and the Bengal people is that of building a viable nation capable of participating in the world community. That task will not be easy, however, given the destruction, death, and still-smoldering hatreds in their nation.

Stop Them at All Costs

(The following articles are based upon true events, although in reality the events occurred over a greater span of time than indicated by the dates used here. The quotations of Senators and Congressmen were taken from the *Congressional Record.*)

NEW YORK, January 1968—During the long, hot summer of 1967 some 72 cities in 22 states were hit by riots which left 82 dead, an estimated 1,897 injured, and millions of dollars in property damage. In Newark, New Jersey, 1,510 were arrested in a single day, while 7,321 were arrested in the Detroit riots. At this moment there seems little likelihood of peace in the streets this coming summer—peace, at least, which is not brought about by the repressive police measures which accompanied last summer's riots. As the police arm and armor themselves against the possibility of more urban violence, the people of the inner-city ghettos, heeding Black Power leader Rap Brown's suggestion to "Get you some fire," have been buying weapons of their own.

City officials, however, fear more than a repetition of last summer's urban rioting. Despite the violence, the 1967 riots were far less bloody than they might have been. They were not classic "race riots" in which Whites and Blacks fought pitched battles in the streets as they have done a dozen times or more since the Civil War. Confined generally to the ghetto areas these were confrontations in which Blacks battled not Whitey but his agents—the police, firemen, and white owners of ghetto stores. Lurking in the minds of many officials is the fear of what could happen in the future if such riots spill out of the black ghetto areas—a nightmare of black mobs looting and burning downtown and suburban areas as armed mobs of Whites counterattack against black areas of the city.

A growing suspicion is that the tactics of the angry minorities in this country may be switching from both the early symbolic demonstrations and later mob violence to guerrilla warfare. Professor Morris Janowitz of the University of Chicago has suggested that general urban rioting seems to be giving way to more specific and premeditated uses of force—force which may be described as political violence. The Rev. Andrew Young of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference stated the problem even more plainly when he recently indicated that many young Blacks now seem to be planning systematic acts of violence and the use of guerrilla war techniques in the urban areas of America. The verbal and symbolic violence of sit-ins and demonstrations thus seems to have been partly replaced by physical violence, some of it of a focused, political nature.

There is a possibility that the urban rioting and demonstrations on the scale of those of the summer of 1967 will not recur. The possibility of more focused violence, however, implies that American cities may soon feel blows of terrorist guerrilla groups similar to those which have rocked so many Latin American and Middle Eastern cities these past few years. Should this threat be realized, there will be little hope for racial peace in America.

WASHINGTON, D.C., February 1968—From New York to Paris to Prague, students are turning the world of the establishment upside down. Aroused by a growing social and political consciousness, inflamed by symbolic demonstrations and growing acts of protest, students around the world today are rebelling over a number of issues ranging from campus problems to the nature of society itself. Nor is it only the university campus in turmoil; many recent demonstrations around the world have included students of high school age. The demonstrations range from verbal and symbolic actions to highly destructive violence of a physical nature.

Within the last year student demonstrations have occurred in ever increasing numbers, striking the United States, France, Italy, Britain, Spain, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, and Japan. Different tactics and differing degrees of success in halting protests have been reported. In a few cases the authorities have peacefully ended demonstrations through the use of compromise or court orders. In most cases, however, force has been used, ranging from police clubs to army bullets and bayonets.

The growing unrest among students is no doubt stimulated by the writings of a number of revolutionary gurus such as Mao Tse-tung, Che Guevara, and Stokely Carmichael. To the more radical student activist the real target of demonstration is "the system," or society itself. The view expressed in one pamphlet supporting a recent student strike was that it is now time to attack the ills that plague the American social system. According to the pamphlet, only a radical, perhaps violent, restructuring of American society can save it from destroying itself.

Some profess to see a conspiracy at work—the threat of communist subversion from abroad or internal conspiracy by revolutionary groups at home. But one investigation of a number of "activist American campuses" revealed few administrators or faculty members who feel that student uprisings are part of a global or even national conspiracy. Rather, greater cohesion of student goals across national boundaries, a growing awareness of similar problems, and a growing ability to communicate decisions to confront such problems are seen as the stimulant for expressions of student discontent. Because the problems facing American society, or any other, are not generally open to easy or quick solution, it is expected that student demonstrations of a violent nature and governmental repression of an equally violent nature will continue to dominate world headlines in the future.

WASHINGTON, D.C., March 1968—The United States Senate has added an anti-riot bill to the Civil Rights Act of 1968. The anti-riot provisions are an outgrowth of similar provisions which passed the House of Representatives in July of 1967. In part the anti-riot act provides that:

> Whoever travels in interstate or foreign commerce or uses any facility of interstate or foreign commerce, including but not limited to, the mail, telegraph, telephone, radio, or television, with intent—
>
> A. to incite a riot; or
> B. to organize, promote, encourage, participate in, or carry on a riot; or
> C. to commit any act of violence in furtherance of a riot; or
> D. to aid or abet any person in inciting or participating in or carrying on a riot or committing any act of violence in furtherance of a riot; and who either during the course of any such travel or use or thereafter performs or attempts to perform any other overt act for any purpose specified in subparagraph (A), (B), (C), or (D) of this paragraph—Shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

J. Strom Thurmond, U.S. Senator from South Carolina, has stated that:

> The government must be empowered to deal firmly and actively with those harbingers of anarchy who undoubtedly contributed substantially to the tragedies of our cities. The amendment would accomplish that purpose. Individuals who fly from city to city inciting to riot could be arrested and dealt with firmly under the law.

Emanuel Celler, U.S. Representative from New York, has argued that:

> We are all sick and tired of these riots, but I question whether or not this bill is going to help in that regard. I know this bill is going to pass, and it is rather difficult to swim against the tide, but the right of dissent is precious. I respect that right in others, and I invite your respect for my right to differ. A nation without controversy is politically dead. With the dead there is no dissent. In the cemetery there is no controversy. I think it is better for a nation to be politically alive, with dissent, with rivalry.

Joel T. Broyhill, U.S. Representative from Virginia, has said that:

> Designed to stem the unholy alliance of mayhem and rioting that sweeps in an ebbtide of disorder and death from city to city in the Nation, H.R. 421 [the July 1967 anti-riot bill] will strike at the seedbed of an evil force that now roams uncontrolled across America.
>
> Riding the crest of this destruction is a trained cadre of professional agitators who move in open defiance of decency, law, and order. They prey on discontent. They incite to action the poor, the underprivileged, the frustrated, the weak, the undereducated, and the dregs of our society. . . .
>
> It is time to act. . . .
>
> It is time to reclaim for our people the right to live in peace and civil obedience.

Elmer J. Holland, U.S. Representative from Pennsylvania, has stated in Congressional debate that:

> H.R. 421 is not necessary to cope with violence in our streets. . . . I cannot think offhand of a less effective way to stem civil unrest in this country than by trying to pretend it has no causes, or than by trying to assure ourselves that if one talks about it it will go away. The riots and the violence that have torn so many American cities are not, much as some of us would like to think otherwise, the results of some kind of malicious plot by which evil men are stirring up happy, contented Americans. They are the direct and inevitable result of 300 years of violence and lawlessness and oppression. . . . This fact does not excuse the rioting or the violence, but it does explain it. And anyone who thinks we can stop it in any other way than by trying harder than we have tried thus far, to remedy evils that cause it, simply doesn't understand the time in which we live.

William G. Bray, U.S. Representative from Indiana, in debate on the floor of the House has said that:

> Over the past few years, one American city after another has been shaken and torn by riots and mob violence. People have been killed, property damage has run into millions, communities have been poisoned and embittered, civil tensions have increased, public confidence has been shaken, and private fears have been intensified. . . .
>
> The gangster, the rioter and murderer must be stopped, with whatever force needed. The law officer cannot stop a rioter, bent on murder, mayhem or arson, by kindness.

Jonathan B. Bingham, U.S. Representative from New York, has argued that:

> Every one of us is deeply disturbed by the riots that have occurred in many of our cities. I have no doubt that legislation—serious, important, far-reaching legislation—is needed to prevent such riots in the future and to reduce their seriousness when they do occur. But the bill before us is not such legislation. It will neither stop riots nor reduce their ferocity. . . .
>
> In short, in my view, this so-called anti-riot bill is not only useless as a remedy for a very serious malady in our society, but if used at all is likely to make the malady worse.

CHICAGO, April 1968—Riots in American cities have, in the past three summers, resulted in a reported 130 dead, 3,623 injured, and property damage and economic loss estimated at more than 715 million dollars.

Widespread national concern over this eruption of urban violence, coupled with growing campus violence, has been reflected at all levels of government. In the summer of 1967 President Johnson appointed a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, and later announced his intentions to recommend legislation to Congress which would punish those who use means of interstate or foreign commerce and travel for the purpose of inciting or engaging in civil disorder.

The report of the President's Commission, published in March 1968, placed primary responsibility for the urban riots on what it termed "white racism" and recommended projects to aid urban redevelopment, expand low-cost housing, and improve educational facilities and job opportunities. Similar investigations of recent disorders on the nation's college campuses indicate that a majority of them revolve around issues dealing with American society—especially the continued participation in the war in Southeast Asia. All indications are that governmental counterviolence to repress dissent will in the long run lead to more violent confrontations. The reports seem to indicate that while society as a whole cannot allow rioting and violent demonstrations, the only feasible way to halt such activities effectively is through a reordering of societal values and the achievement of a greater degree of social and economic equality.

Response in Congress, however, has flown in the face of these suggestions. Rather than moving to resolve the massive problems at the base of such conflict, Congress has tended to concentrate almost exclusively on the immediate problem of maintaining order and assisting state and local governments in their efforts to prevent or control new outbreaks of violence. The Civil Rights Act of March 1958 included federal anti-riot provisions which to date are Congress' major response to the complex problems facing our society.

The new law has raised two major questions: First, should federal response to riots and civil disorders be a large-scale attack on poverty, discrimination, and the disordered social values which some individuals feel lead to riots and unrest; or should the disorders be viewed as a result of criminal activity which must be immediately and forcefully halted? Second, will the new anti-riot law deny the Constitutional privileges guaranteed under the First and Fifth Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech, right of assembly, and due process of law; or will the new law aid in halting violent demonstrations without seriously infringing upon the Constitutional rights of American citizens?

The American Civil Liberties Union, among others, has already questioned both the constitutionality and necessity of the law. In their view, while the law may act to prevent certain types of demonstrations, it may also abridge civil rights. In the long run we may find that repression coupled with a refusal to act meaningfully upon the underlying social causes of discontent will lead to new eruptions of even greater violence and counterviolence.

Silent Agony Ends for Cadet at Point [1]

WEST POINT, N.Y., June 6, 1973—James J. Pelosi was graduated from the United States Military Academy here today, more than a year and a half after he was officially "silenced" by his fellow cadets.

Beginning in November, 1971, Cadet Pelosi, who received his commission today as a second lieutenant in the Army, had roomed and eaten by himself at a 10-man table in the cadet mess hall. Almost none of the 3,800 other cadets talked to him except on official business, in class, or to deliver a message.

A 44-member Honor Committee, senior cadets elected by their companies, had found Cadet Pelosi guilty of completing an answer on a quiz after the examiner had given the order to stop writing. Although he denied the charge and produced witnesses on his behalf and although the conviction was reversed, the Silence was imposed by his fellow cadets.

In the first few months after the Silence began, Lieutenant Pelosi, a 21-year-old native of West Hempstead, L.I., lost 26 pounds, found his mail destroyed and his possessions vandalized, and saw his cadet peer rating drop from among the highest in his 100-man company to 979th, lowest in his entire class.

The Silence is rarely imposed, because most cadets faced with the prospect choose to resign. Perhaps the best known victim of the system was Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., who was silenced during all his four years at West Point, 1932 to 1936, because he is black. He went on to become a lieutenant general in the Air Force.

---

[1] *The New York Times*, June 7, 1973, pp. 1, 50. © 1973 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

Kidnapping for Christ [2]

Wes Lockwood, 20, a junior at Yale, had a dental appointment at 4 P.M. last Jan. 16th. He never made it. Nor did he show up at 6 P.M. for his job as a dishwasher at the Faculty Club. He was next seen being driven through a tollgate on the Pennsylvania Turnpike, where he cried for help and said he was being kidnapped. Police stopped the car, which also contained two white men and a black. One of the whites convinced the cops that the boy was mentally ill. They then drove on to an apartment in Masontown, Pa., 40 miles south of Pittsburgh. Lockwood was held captive there for 2½ days.

Thirteen days later, Dan Voll, 20, a good friend and former roommate of Lockwood's at Yale, was walking along 119th Street in Manhattan when a 6-ft. 2-in. 200-lb. white man grabbed him by the arm, and a smaller black man pushed him into a waiting car driven by a middle-aged white woman. "Don't you know you are possessed by demons?" the woman said, according to Voll. The youth screamed for help so persistently that the police intervened and freed him, unhurt except for a dislocated finger.

The police might have pressed kidnapping charges against Voll's abductors except for one fact; they included his mother and father, a junior high school principal in Farmington, Conn. The Lockwood disappearance involved his father, a stockbroker in Los Angeles, plus an uncle. The black man in both cases was Ted Patrick, 42, a former community-relations consultant for California Governor Ronald Reagan. He now heads a "deprogramming" organization that helps parents recapture children who have taken up with exotic religious sects. Patrick, a churchgoing Methodist, began heretic hunting as a leader in the FREE COG (Free Our Children from the Children of God) movement, a parents' vigilante group organized to reclaim offspring who joined that authoritarian fundamentalist sect. . . . Now Patrick claims to have an underground network of deprogrammers throughout the U.S. They have recovered, he says, some 600 youths from 61 different fundamentalist pentecostal or Oriental religious sects during the past two years. "Team members" of the underground network say that Patrick charges no fee for his services except what is necessary for travel and other expenses. He also claims that the child's parents must assume the basic responsibility for any abduction. The abductions are justified,

---

[2] *Time*, March 12, 1973, pp. 81, 83. Reprinted by permission from TIME, The Weekly Newsmagazine; Copyright Time Inc.

Patrick feels, because the youths have already been "psychologically kidnapped" by offbeat religious sects. Parents, he says, are only "rescuing" them.

Patrick and his team members—mostly concerned parents, already deprogrammed kids and an occasional clergyman—are not known to have any professional credentials in psychology. Nevertheless, they claim their treatment always works. They liken it to an encounter group session. Other accounts of deprogramming indicate that the process, which can last from two days to two weeks, is something between a brainwashing and an inquisition. According to Pat ("Biff") Alexander, 23, a former member of the Jesus movment who recanted and is now a member of Patrick's team, the first step is an intensive interrogation, sometimes lasting from morning until midnight. This is designed to "break" the subject by demolishing his false religious views. When he is sufficiently pliable, his parents take him home with them for "finishing" the reconstruction of his old family and church ties.

Parental abduction is, to be sure, not novel in the annals of religion. St. Clare's family tried to retrieve her bodily after she ran away from home to join St. Francis of Assisi and his band of pious mendicants. Legend has it that St. Thomas Aquinas' family locked him in a room with a whore to dissuade him from joining the Dominican order. But the deprogramming practiced by today's soul snatchers seems suspiciously like a religious version of the Ludovico technique—that brain-blowing treatment administered to Alex, the anti-hero in Anthony Burgess' *A Clockwork Orange*. It was designed to make him acceptable to society by ridding him of his sado-sexual violence. In the process Alex also lost his free will.

Chapter 2

A World of Violence

What Is Violence?

War, such as World War II, Vietnam, or the Indian wars of American history? Destruction of the environment through urban sprawl, pollution, or the slaughter of animal life? The national turmoil caused by urban riots and student unrest in the United States and other nations, the bloody strife in Northern Ireland or Bangladesh, or the revolutionary guerrilla movements in parts of Africa, Asia, and Latin America? Distrust or hatred by one group of people for another? Contact sports such as football, hockey, or wrestling? Organized crime or gang wars in urban areas? All of these represent, at least to some people, forms of violence.

There are, in fact, so many examples of physical violence in our world that the problem of defining it becomes one of choosing clear, representative examples from among a vast and varied group of possibilities. Moreover, contact with such matters occurs almost daily, for we can seldom open a newspaper or magazine or tune in the radio or television without being confronted by violence in some form.

The attention given to subjects of a violent nature in the mass media, particularly on television and in the press, seems to suggest that violence is a relatively new phenomenon. History, however, does not support such an assumption. Violence, by most definitions, is age-old. In fact, no one geographic area or period in history seems to have a monopoly on its occurrence.

Types of Violence

Just as there are many ways to define violence, so are there many ways to categorize or label its different kinds. For example, one might classify types of natural violence such as earthquakes, fires, and floods. Another classification might make a distinction between human and animal violence. Here, however, we will restrict ourselves to examining the former, and will attempt to classify it along a range running from mental to physical violence; and also on the basis of its magnitude—determined generally by whether it involves individuals, groups, or entire nations.

Violence: Mental to Physical

Perhaps the most common types of mental violence involves the use of language which breeds suspicion and hatred. Speaking and writing are, of course, types of physical activity, but their impact is generally more mental (or psychological) than physical. Injuries from language violence are usually confined to the ego, personality, or reputation. Such injury may be substantial, but it is different from physical damage. Mental violence can indeed be more harmful than physical, and it can be longer-lasting.

Gossip and rumor are language forms which often provoke violent reactions. Rumor often heightens tensions and leads to confrontations. During the energy crisis the credibility gap between citizen, politician, and oil company regarding hidden oil reserves and holdings, special taxes, unfair business practices, or excessive price increases, fed by rumor on all sides, led to verbal confrontations in the halls of Congress and physical demonstrations in the streets. Language of a more stinging nature, especially when used in face-to-face situations, usually leads to escalating tensions and often to physical violence. Such degrading ethnic labels as *dago*, *kike*, *spic*, *redneck*, *nigger*, *chink*, or *gringo* have fed the flames of racial intolerance and have been the cause of uncountable arguments, fights, and other violent actions.

Group actions or language may generate damaging feelings of inferiority in others—whether or not this effect is intended. Such psychological damage, however, can be intentional, and can involve more than words. Solitary confinement is a common example of psychological torture. In extreme cases punishment of this sort has been known to drive people to insanity or suicide. Psychological torture often goes hand-in-glove with pressures of a more physical type. Threats or demonstrations of physical violence can have profound psychological impact. "Brainwashing" techniques have effectively combined physical pain with mental discomfort and disorientation to break or destroy enemies. Such violence, directed at individuals and groups, has been all too frequent in recent years.

Violence: Degrees of Magnitude

Overt violence carried out by one individual against another is almost commonplace in our daily lives. Most of us have either been involved in or witness to physically violent interpersonal disputes. We have often viewed (or possibly taken part in) a violence-oriented sport such as boxing, and have read about or seen on TV examples of lethal violence such as manslaughter or murder.

Physical violence between groups is almost as common an occurrence as violence between individuals. The difference, of course, is that with groups the possibility of more serious consequences is heightened. Examples of group violence are everywhere to be seen in today's world. Gang wars in the United States and bombings in Northern Ireland are examples. Clashes between pickets and "scabs," police and demonstrators, Blacks and Whites—the list is endless. A survey of the past year's news sources will reveal that all nations have undergone internal violence in some form—*coups*, revolutions, mass strikes, separatist movements, ethnic clashes, and other forms of turmoil.

Table 2–1 lists those nations which have undergone outbreaks of group violence since 1950 or, in the case of those nations which were colonies of European powers, since they have gained their political independence. The type of group violence studied in compiling this table was revolutionary violence and violence connected with *coups d'etat*. Both are attempts by one group of people to overthrow the ruling group or group holding political power in a nation. A *coup* generally attempts only to place new individuals or groups in power. A revolution generally has the goal of changing not only the group holding power but

Table 2–1. Revolutionary and Coup Violence

Africa South of the Sahara	Americas	Asia	Europe	Middle East and North Africa
Burundi	Argentina	Burma	Czechoslovakia	Algeria
Cameroon	Bolivia	Cambodia	France	Egypt
Central African Rep.	Brazil	Ceylon	Germany (E)	Iran
Chad	Colombia	China (C)	Greece	Iraq
Congo (K)	Costa Rica	Indonesia	Hungary	Jordan
Congo (B)	Cuba	Korea (S)	Ireland (N)	Lebanon
Dahomey	Dominican Rep.	Laos	Poland	Libya
Equitorial Guinea	Guatemala	Malaysia	Portugal	Morocco
Ethiopia	Haiti	Nepal		Sudan
Gabon	Mexico	Pakistan		Syria
Ghana	Nicaragua	Phillipines		Turkey
Guinea	Panama	Singapore		Yemen
Ivory Coast	Paraguay	Vietnam (N)		
Malagasy	United States	Vietnam (S)		
Malawi	Uruguay			
Niger	Venezuela			
Nigeria				
Rwanda				
Sierra Leone				
Somalia				
South Africa				
Tanzania				
Togo				
Uganda				
Upper Volta				
Zambia				

The data sources used in compiling this table were *The New York Times Index*, 1950–1972, and *Deadline Data on World Affairs*, 1950–1972.

also the type of governmental structure or the social system of the society.

Group violence has many causes. It may arise over questions of economic exploitation, societal injustice, or racial discrimination. Recent student protests and race riots are examples of the violence aroused by such causes.

Table 2–2 lists those countries where student-oriented violence has occurred within the last twenty years and is an indication of the scope of the sort of violence that we are examining.

Table 2–2. Student-Oriented Violence

Africa South of the Sahara	Americas	Asia	Europe	Middle East and North Africa
Congo (B)	Argentina	Burma	Belgium	Algeria
Congo (K)	Bolivia	Ceylon	Czechoslovakia	Egypt
Dahomey	Brazil	China (C)	France	Iran
Ethiopia	Colombia	India	Germany (W)	Lebanon
Gabon	Cuba	Indonesia	Italy	Libya
Ghana	Dominican Rep.	Japan	Netherlands	Morocco
Ivory Coast	Guatemala	Korea (S)	United Kingdom	Sudan
Kenya	Mexico	Philippines	Yugoslavia	Syria
Mauritus	Panama	Malaysia		Turkey
Nigeria	Peru	Singapore		
Senegal	Uruguay	Thailand		
South Africa	United States	Vietnam (S)		
Tanzania	Venezuela			
Uganda				
Upper Volta				

The data sources used in compiling this table were *The New York Times Index*, 1950–1972, and *Deadline Data on World Affairs*, 1950–1972.

Group violence may arise as one group attempts to force others to accept its social system, moral values, or religious views. The Crusades of the Christian Knights of the Middle Ages against the Islamic Saracens of Northern Africa is an example. Religious persecution and wars in Europe and the early American colonies, Western attempts to "civilize" the "savages" of the Americas, Africa, and Asia, the attempted prohibition of the use of alcoholic beverages in the United States during the era of prohibition, and today's controversies over drugs and abortion all involve aspects of violence centered around the desire of one group of people to force others to conform to set standards of behavior.

Table 2–3 lists those countries in which violence has occurred because of racial, ethnic, or religious differences, differences symptomatic of the causes of violence under discussion. The time period covered by Tables 2–2 and 2–3 is 1950 to 1972 or, in the case of those nations which were colonies of European powers, the period since they gained their political independence. These tables are by no means inclusive; they merely represent some of the recent results of inter-group violence.

Table 2–3. Racial, Ethnic, and Religious Violence

Africa South of the Sahara	Americas	Asia	Europe	Middle East and North Africa
Burundi	Brazil	Burma	Belgium	Afghanistan
Chad	Canada	Cambodia	Italy	Egypt
Congo (B)	Colombia	Ceylon	Spain	Iran
Congo (K)	Guyana	China (C)	United Kingdom	Iraq
Dahomey	United States	China (T)	Yugoslavia	Israel
Equitorial Guinea		India		Lebanon
Ethiopia		Indonesia		Sudan
Gabon		Laos		Turkey
Ghana		Malaysia		Yemen
Ivory Coast		Pakistan		
Kenya		Phillipines		
Malagasy		Singapore		
Mauritania		Thailand		
Niger		Vietnam (S)		
Nigeria				
Rwanda				
Somalia				
South Africa				
Tanzania				
Uganda				
Zambia				

The data sources used in compiling this table were *The New York Times Index*, 1950–1972, and *Deadline Data on World Affairs*, 1950–1972.

Finally, group violence may be due to the desire of one group to gain wealth and power through the economic control of the people, land, natural resources, trade, or political influence of another group. Such is the stuff of which civil wars are made, whether it be our own American civil war or the more recent civil wars in Pakistan, Nigeria, Northern Ireland, or many Southeast Asian countries. As recent world events testify, group violence today is difficult to contain within the confines of national boundaries and all too often spreads to involve groups of people in other nations. In such cases, inter-group violence becomes transformed into international violence.

With physical violence raised to international levels, the possibility for destruction becomes even greater, since violent actions are backed by the resources and energy of an entire nation. The vast material destruction and suffering brought about by World War II is but one vivid example.

Violence classified at this level has occurred only during the last few centuries since the rise of nation-states. A group of people consider themselves a nation because of common race, language, culture, religion, or history. Whatever the cause, the rise of nationalism and the nation-state has strongly influenced the history of international relations over the past few hundred years. This has been due in large part to the tendency of nations to conflict, often violently, over a large number of issues, issues very similar to those political, economic, and social issues discussed in relation to inter-group violence. That this should be true is not surprising when we consider that international violence is merely group violence on a larger and more organized scale. Outbreaks of violence at the international level may be significant chiefly in that they tend to involve the total population and resources of the nations concerned and can lead to large-scale death and destruction among civilian populations.

Examples of international violence are all too numerous. In fact, the number and variety of examples of violence of all types at all levels should indicate to us just how thin the veneer of human civilization really is. Beginning with the American Revolution of 1776 there has been a growing number of anticolonial movements until today most nations of the world are recognized as being at least politically, if not economically, independent.

Examples of what many people designate as "internal colonialism" are perhaps less well known to us today. In many

Table 2–4. Separatist Violence

Africa South of the Sahara	Americas	Asia	Europe	Middle East and North Africa
Burundi	Canada	Burma	Belgium	Iran
Congo		China (C)	France	Iraq
Ethiopia		China (T)	Great Britain	Sudan
Ivory Coast		India	Italy	Yemen
Kenya		Indonesia	Northern Ireland	
Mauritania		Malaysia	Spain	
Nigeria		Pakistan		
Rwanda		Phillipines		
Uganda		Thailand		

The data sources used in compiling this table were *The New York Times Index*, 1950–1972, and *Deadline Data on World Affairs*, 1950–1972.

nations there are groups who feel that they are unjustly controlled by the dominant segments of the society. Such minority groups often argue that within their own country they are just as exploited as were the colonized nations of the world.

Table 2–4 indicates those nations which during the past twenty years have undergone violence connected with independence movements, in this case independence for groups who are already part of what is an independent nation-state. The movements of the Basque peoples of northern Spain-southern France, the French-speaking minority of Canada, or the Ibo tribe of Nigeria are recent examples of strivings for independence by minority groups within nations which are themselves politically independent. These cases, of course, represent instances of violence that may or may not be international in scope, though such struggles are certainly international in their impact.

The desire for power, prestige, and perhaps revenge for previous injuries has continually led to warfare between nations. During the last 150 years there have been approximately fifty wars between nations. If we add civil and anti-colonial wars, between ninety and one hundred wars have occurred in the last century and a half. A table indicating the nations involved in such violence would be without real value since most nations of the world would have to be included. A more interesting task would be to attempt to list those nations which have not become involved in violence at the international level in the post-World War II era.

In addition to the physical violence at the international level, many recent occurrences between nations have involved violence of both a psychological and an economic nature. Much of the U.S.-Soviet cold war conflict has revolved around violent aspects of threats and "psychological warfare." The charges of the underdeveloped nations of the world that they are economically exploited by the developed nations and the international capitalistic system or the recent international monetary crises involving the major trading nations of the free world are examples of violence of an economic kind.

Finally, aspects of physical, psychological, and economic violence can be traced to a complexity of issues linking science, technology, and ecology. These problems are difficult if not impossible to separate from questions involving the wielding of political power or the desire to control economic wealth and resources. Decisions regarding the control of energy and other natural resources, their use, and the ecological problems involved in questions of resource exploitation can easily lead to conflict at the international level, conflict that may become violent. Recent confrontations on the high seas between fishing fleets of different nations over control of the ocean's resources is one example of such violent interaction at the international level.

Conclusion

In the preceding pages it has been suggested that one approach to violence may be to classify it along a range running from physical to non-physical, or to categorize violence on interpersonal, inter-group, and international levels. Of course, other categories or schemes of classification would be equally valid. (For example, violence could be classified by political, economic, and psychological causes, or defined by legal, religious, or psychological concepts.) We would argue, however, that there is little question about the conclusion that violence, according to most general definitions and classifications, is not to be found exclusively in any single geographic location or historical time dimension.

Violence, however, is not the sum total of history and to attempt to suggest so would be misleading and dishonest. Violence is but one thread, one of many, that runs throughout the recorded history of the human species. This chapter has focused on its scope and place in history so that we might have greater hopes of eventually understanding its causes and occurrence in today's world. Understanding violence may be the first step to dealing with it.

Chapter 3

The American Way of Violence

The Historical Perspective

A historical overview of the American way of violence is presented here separately not because America is more violent than other nations but because this happens to be the society in which we have been raised and will probably live out our lives. Furthermore, it is this society that offers most of us the widest range of options for working toward the achievement of a reduction of violence. We need only acknowledge the need to attempt to do so.

In the United States, as elsewhere in the world, violence has often been used by different groups in an attempt to gain their desired goals. It has been used both officially by governments and their agencies and unofficially by ordinary citizens and groups. There are definite categories, levels, and causes of violence to be found in this brief survey of violence in the American historical context.

Some concerns for the reader to be aware of are:

1. What level or levels of violence are being discussed and how might the examples under discussion be defined?
2. What are the implied causes of violence herein? The desire for political control or economic gain, reaction to racial, religious or sexist discrimination, or any number of similar causes?
3. Does the violence in question seem to have been necessary?
4. Do historical examples seemingly indicate that violence is an effective tool by which individuals or groups may attempt to gain a desired goal?

The mass media and many scholarly articles suggest that high levels of violence are a relatively new occurrence in American history, that widespread violence is a recent creation of permissive child-rearing practices and the 1960s, "decade of protest." A critical glance at American history, however, indicates that this view is inaccurate. Interpersonal violence has long been part of the American scene. The ritualized duel between offended parties, the frontier gunfight, the political assassination, or the sometimes brutal psychological infighting that characterizes decision-making in corporate executive suites—these are among countless examples. Nor is inter-group violence a stranger to America, as attested by our long and violent history of racial, labor, and revolutionary disturbances. And America has long been involved in a series of violent international conflicts, ranging from the threat of arms to the ultimate physical violence, the use of nuclear weapons against a wartime enemy. The founding of the American nation was made possible only by the successful conclusion of a war for independence against Great Britain. Furthermore, from its birth as a nation through the end of the nineteenth century, the United States engaged in violent conflict with virtually every American Indian nation. And our awesome Civil War accounted for more American dead than any other war we have been engaged in before or since. The fact that historians continually argue about whether these conflicts were

Table 3–1. Costs of U.S. Involvement in International Wars

Wars	Deaths	Original War Costs (in millions of dollars)
Mexican War (1846–1848)	11,000	73
Spanish American War (1898)	5,000	400
World War I (1917–1918)	126,000	26,000
World War II (19[illegible]–1945)	292,000	228,000
Korean War (1950–1953)	54,000[1]	54,000[2]
Vietnam War (1961–1973)	46,040[3]	103,500[4]

[1] J. D. Singer and Melvin Small, *The Wages of War 1816–1965: A Statistical Handbook* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1972).

[2] *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1972. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 251.

[3] Department of Defense statistics released by the Directorate for Information Operations. Supplied by the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

[4] Statistics from a report issued by the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. August 15, 1972. Supplied by the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

truly international or internal does not diminish their magnitude or scope.

An important indication of just how violence prone any group has been at certain stages of its development is the number of times that group has chosen to employ violent means against other groups to gain group-established goals or desired ends. Incredible as it may seem, William Nesbitt, in *Data on the Human Crisis*, has estimated that in all but twenty of the approximately 200 years of American history, U.S. military forces have been engaged in active military operations somewhere in the world. The terrible cost in terms of lives lost and economic resources wasted has been enormous, as indicated in part by Table 3–1.

Nor do these statistics reflect the costs of such international military actions as those undertaken by the United States to overpower the pirates of the Barbary coast, to open Japan to Western influence and trade, to maintain our position in China during the period of "Europeanization and trade," or to maintain our position of dominance among our neighbors in Latin America.

A great many Americans are seemingly under the impression that our nation has enjoyed almost two centuries of relatively peaceful progress and lawful change toward the goals set forth in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States. There are no sharp divisions or major gulfs, many believe, among the large number of social, racial, and ethnic groups in the country. America, it is thought, is a nation where many diverse groups are able to reach peaceful solutions to problems, which allows all to share in the wealth and freedom of our society. Outbreaks of group violence are seen as being occasional affairs, few in number and scattered throughout a largely nonviolent history. Therefore, when violence does occur, it is generally viewed as somewhat unnatural or un-American, an activity carried out by small groups of discontented radicals and professional rabble-rousers who in no real way represent the true "American way of life."

On the other hand, many Americans would argue that a scrutiny of our history reveals a country that has often experienced prolonged periods of group violence directly related to attempts by different groups to achieve desired goals. Given this point of view, many of these individuals might tend to agree with Black militant H. Rap Brown that "violence is as American as cherry pie."

The Diversity of Violence

A brief survey of the past two centuries may help place the phenomenon of violence in America in clearer historical perspective. It will also assist in formulating judgments concerning the degree to which American society can be characterized as having evolved in a violent manner.

Revolutionary Violence

During the revolutionary war American colonists fought not only the British authorities and their armies, but also each other. With the outbreak of hostilities against Great Britain, rebel guerrilla bands began a series of systematic attacks against the Tories (colonists who remained loyal to the King of England). Tory marauders retaliated with equal ferocity. The bitter violence of this period, followed by the eventual defeat of the British, resulted in the migration of large numbers of Tories to Canada or other British-held territories. Some historians have argued that only their forced flight saved the newly independent American states from a prolonged period of internal civil war.

Agrarian Violence

Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts in 1786, the 1794 Whiskey Rebellion of Pennsylvania, and Frie's Rebellion in Pennsylvania in 1798 are some of the better-known examples of violent agrarian response to tax and land issues during the early years of the American republic. These revolts against what was viewed as economic exploitation (control of prices and tax rates by eastern merchants and large landowners) had largely subsided by 1800, although they were to erupt periodically throughout our history.

Many historians view the long and costly American Civil War as more of a conflict between the rural, agrarian South and the industrialized North than as a conflict over the direct issue of slavery. Viewed from this perspective, it was one of the costliest agrarian-type conflicts in history, ranking in magnitude with the European peasant wars of the Reformation period and the Kulak resistance movements against communist control of agriculture in Russia in the early part of this century. Its aftermath left the farmer with continuing economic problems regarding crop prices, taxation rates, railway rates, and monetary policy, and led to the formation of the Grange, the Farmer's Alliance, the Populist Party, and other agrarian groups. These ranged in orientation from organized political parties, attempting to change the system through the ballot, to vigilante groups dedicated to forceful change through violent means.

Recent events in the United States indicate that forms of agrarian violence still tend to occur. Violent confrontations between farmers and migrant workers in California, the premature slaughter of livestock and poultry as a means of keeping market prices at desirable levels, and the alleged attempts of certain agrarian organizations to buy political influence through exorbitant campaign contributions are varying aspects of an ongoing problem.

Ethnic and Racial Violence

America has a long and tragic history of ethnic and racially oriented group violence. Jerome Skolnick, in *The Politics of Protest*, shows that from the period when they were first brought into the American colonies until after the Civil War, slaves were involved in at least 250 violent revolts against their white oppressors. Though unsuccessful, scattered in time and place, and until very recently unreported in most American history texts, these acts of sabotage and revolt were bitter and often bloody expressions of violence.

From the end of the Civil War to the present, many examples of ethnic or racially oriented group violence have occurred, most consistently against the Blacks. In the southern states terrorist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan waged a violent struggle to exclude Blacks from politics, to revive the "Southern" social system, and to drive the Northern carpetbaggers from positions of political and economic power. The Klan, with all of its racial overtones, later spread northward to the border states where it continues to attract supporters.

To this day various ethnic minorities have been the targets of attack by groups of WASPs (White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants) bent on protecting their control of political and economic power and their social status. Chinese and Japanese were frequently attacked in race riots on the West Coast and in other parts of the country where they were concentrated. At differing times, Jews, Italians, and Irish have been the victims of discrimination, riots, and lynchings. Throughout the Southwest, Mexican-Americans were shoved from the land, generally excluded from effective political and economic influence, and often forced to exist as second-class citizens.

Underscoring a long list of such violence is the plight of the American Indian. The Indian has been systematically killed, cheated, lied to, and robbed of treaty-granted lands by unscrupulous citizens and a seemingly unconcerned government.

The bitter heritage of American history is still all too evident in today's violent ethnic and racial tensions and disorders. Continued urban violence is but one of many indications of this ongoing problem in the United States.

The Violent West

In the West the vigilante tradition of "hemp and six-gun justice," the continual range wars and feuds, the Indian wars, and a general lack of organized law enforcement aggravated an already violent frontier philosophy that things were for the taking. The folk heroes of this period—Jesse James, Billy the Kid, Judge Roy Bean, Bat Masterson, Wyatt Earp, and Wild Bill Hickock, for example—are but one indication of the glorification of violence that Americans seem to engage in. The fact that Jesse James was a horsethief and former outlaw marauder of the Civil War period, that Billy the Kid was a mentally disturbed juvenile who shot most of his adversaries in the back, or that as law-enforcement officers Earp, Hickock, and Masterson were all "on the take" is usually underplayed by today's mass media. Most modern western fare glorifies violence and violent individuals through distortions of historical fact.

Group violence also marked the development of the West. The famous feuds and range wars took a heavy toll. The Graham-Tewksbury feud in Arizona, for example, left 26 cattlemen and six sheepmen dead in a five-year period. In 1857 a group of Mormons murdered 120 settlers passing through southern Utah, an act designed to prevent one of their own members from being brought to trial for shooting a settler.

Vigilante groups were a common means of enforcing the law, even when the services of regular law-enforcement agencies were available. Vigilante groups ranged in size from spur-of-the-moment gatherings of five or six men to well-organized groups such as the San Francisco Vigilance Committee, which in 1856 numbered in the neighborhood of 7,000 members. The average organized group, however, had 100 to 300 members. In Texas there were approximately fifty organized vigilante groups between the close of the Civil War and 1900. Historical data indicate that at least 550 people were killed by vigilante action between 1850 and 1900 and uncounted others were horsewhipped, tarred and feathered, or otherwise abused.

We have already noted briefly the appalling violence directed against the American Indians. This sad chapter in American history, although not confined to the West, draws heavily from our settlement of that territory. Continuing and ultimately successful efforts by both the government and citizens to reduce the number of Indians and herd the survivors onto reservations led to countless battles and depradations. In one well-known battle the Sioux, hounded by U.S. forces, wiped out the 82-man command of Captain Fetterman along the Powder River. (Fetterman had earlier boasted that with a company of troops he could "ride through the whole Sioux nation.") Failing to learn from history or wiser fellow officers, a foolhardy General George Custer later led 265 troopers to their deaths at the hands of the Sioux and Cheyenne along the banks of the Little Big Horn River. Farther south a group of Apaches under Geronimo killed 85 soldiers and settlers in a six-month raid of the "settled" territory while losing six Apache warriors.

At times such warfare was conducted along reasonably honorable terms, if warfare can ever be honorable. On both sides, however, atrocities were committed. Perhaps one of the more infamous incidents was the Sand Creek massacre in Colorado. On November 29, 1864, Colonel J. M. Chivington and the Colorado Volunteers attacked the Cheyenne village of Chief Black Kettle. Of some 500 Indians, approximately 450 men, women, and children were senselessly slaughtered. At the time of the attack the Indians were supposedly safeguarded by a treaty with the American government. Throughout the massacre an American flag and a white flag of truce fluttered from the chief's teepee, flags forever stained by blood and betrayal. For their deeds, Col. Chivington and his men were hailed as heroes throughout the American West.

Was the dishonesty and slaughter perpetrated by the white man and his government ever justifiable? Did the behavior of the Indian nations contribute to the official U.S. government's policies? These are not easy questions to answer, but the burden of evidence against the United States is heavy.

Labor Violence

The labor movement in American history has been a significant factor in the process of social change. However, the laudable ends of improving the lot of workers have all too often been supported (and opposed) by questionable, violent means. Labor organizations began to mushroom in the late nineteenth century, their growth paralleling the rapid expansion of industry. Beginning on a relatively large scale in the 1870s, America has experienced repeated labor conflicts of a violent nature as organized workers collectively battled not only the private armies of the industrialists but also engaged in frequent confrontations with the police and the military. As growing union power collided head-on with unyielding industrialists, the strike became the major weapon in the union arsenal. For well over half a century strikes mounted in violence and number, affecting nearly all major industries. Neither unions nor capitalist management was free from blame in these confrontations. Indeed, both sides tended to be blind to their opponents' needs and desires and contributed mutually to escalating conflict spirals ending in violence.

The long and bloody list of violent confrontations between organized labor and the forces of government and industry included the widespread railway strike of 1877, which reached such levels of violence that it was described by some observers as an open insurrection. The Pullman Railway Strike of 1894 carried on this heritage of violent strikes against the nation's railways. The Haymarket Square riot in Chicago in 1886, the violent Homestead strike against Carnegie Steel in 1892 in Pennsylvania, and the dynamiting of the *Los Angeles Times* building in 1910 by members of the American Federation of Labor all contributed to an aura of violence surrounding labor-management relations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Unionization in the American mining regions has also been tainted with violence. Irish immigrants were the founding force behind the Molly Maguires, a secret organization dedicated to spreading the cause of unionization among coal miners through the use of force. A fairly typical example of the strikes and violence that occurred throughout the western mining states can be found in Colorado's history. From 1884 through the early part of the twentieth century, the state was wracked by violent conflicts between armed miners and the private armies of the mine owners backed by the forces of the Colorado militia. The most infamous case of such violence culminated in the 1914 Ludlow Massacre. A prolonged strike against the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. was marked by 38 armed fights in which 18 persons were killed. On April 20 a fifteen-hour battle between miners and militia left two women and eleven children dead when the militia callously burned the strikers' tent city. Federal troops were finally called in to put down the violence which had spread through much of southern Colorado. Although perhaps the most violent, Ludlow was certainly not the last example of violence and death in the Colorado miners' attempts to unionize.

These are but some of the well-known incidents of continuing labor-related violence in our history. In the 17-year span from 1945–1962, 29 deaths were ascribed to labor disputes in America. The recent battles of the United Farm Workers in California and the truckers' strike associated with control of the United Mine Workers in the early 1970s, though less violent than the labor struggles in the early part of the century, establish that labor-related strike and violence in the United States are still with us.

Conclusion

Although necessarily selective and incomplete, this brief examination of violence in American history suggests that the idea of "peaceful progress and orderly change" is in large part a myth. The argument that violence in America has been either rare or totally lacking in definite purpose is refuted by historical fact. However, the claim that "violence is as American as cherry pie" may be equally a myth or at least a distortion of reality. In fact, the truth would seem to lie somewhere between these assertions.

In American society, as in all societies, political and economic power and social status are not freely shared. The demands of some groups for greater degrees of power or status have often been impossible to fulfill within America's existing social structure. Given this problem, many groups have resorted to violence in the attempt to gain their desired goals.

The results of scholarly investigations into violence in America leave much to be desired. Furthermore, the tentative findings have all too often been ignored by the public, as well as by government officials. These investigations tend to conflict in part, pointing to the need for even further study. Skolnick reports in *The Politics of Protest* that "There has been relatively little violence accompanying contemporary demonstrations and group protests." In *Violence in America*, Graham and Gurr state that "The number of violent events has increased greatly in recent years," and although the number of deaths as a result of political violence has dropped, "The number of injuries as a result of political violence is quite large during the last 30-year period" [1940–1970].

These reports indicate that group antagonisms have been the basis of many instances of violence. Recently, labor and racial problems coupled with student protests have tended to dominate the picture. The reports further state that violent group protest is generally political, involving what might be described as "normal Americans." The violence is most frequently unplanned, occurring spontaneously during confrontations between protesters and opposing groups or the authorities.

Finally, Skolnick suggests that whereas unofficial violence carried out by gangs, demonstrators, and rioters has received much public and governmental attention and reaction, sanctioned violence carried out by police, troops, and governmental officials has received considerably less. This is important, for it is from official agencies that we receive much of our news and it is to these same agencies that we often turn for the resolution of problems containing the potential for violence. The implication of some reports is that the actions of public officials may at times actually stimulate additional violence rather than quelling it.

All of this suggests that our understanding of violence and its occurrences is inadequate to meet the demands of the times we live in. Violence, then, needs to be more thoroughly defined, categorized, and investigated. If it is a continually recurring theme throughout history then it would seem that we, as individuals, cannot escape from the possibility of violence occurring in our own lives. We can, however, hope to understand its causes, make value decisions about its utility and moral justification, and act sensibly upon our own decisions. Studies of violence and its causes might help to answer such questions as why violence has occurred in a specific situation and why the official reactions to such violence were organized as they were. In addition these studies might answer questions dealing with the necessity of using violence, the effectiveness of using violence (as opposed to other nonviolent means) to achieve desired goals, the moral implications involved in a decision either to use or not to use violence as a tactic, and the possibilities of counterviolence becoming a major problem in already violent situations.

Chapter 4

The Study of Violence

Introduction

The first chapters of this book have attempted an answer to the question of why we study violence: Simply because we cannot escape it, a problem confronting virtually everyone in the world. While we may dream about utopian societies where all forms of violence are absent, the world to date has known few instances which ever approached such an ideal for even a short period of time. Violence between individuals, between groups, and between nations punctuates all of history. And if we cannot escape from it then we must confront it. We need to try to understand why violence occurs; when, if ever, violence may be useful for us; and finally, how to reduce interpersonal and small-group violence and to control or minimize large-scale violence.

As individuals we should assess the violent situations we frequently find ourselves in and make value decisions about what to do. If we see someone committing a crime do we ignore it because it is none of our business, or do we report it to some authority such as the police, a teacher, or administrator? What if the criminal is someone we know—does this influence our decision? What if we disagree with members of a group or perhaps some leader such as a government official—do we write letters to the local paper or our congressman? Do we go to court, join boycotts, demonstrations, or riots? Or do nothing?

In each case where we confront violent situations the decision to act or not to act involves a value decision. Even if we are not direct participants, a decision to support or not to support certain actions (such as demonstrations, boycotts, or letter-writing campaigns) will influence subsequent events. In fact, it is a number of people making such decisions that leads to a group's action or inaction—to the possibility or the probability of violence.

Understanding Violence

Only by beginning to understand why violence occurs can one hope to understand his own decisions, his own actions, and perhaps, begin to control and even change his responses. Since groups are made up of individuals, if we are ever to control or lessen the occurrences of violence in the world, the first steps must be made by individuals. Only as individuals alter their understandings and attitudes about it will violence decrease or become controlled at the interpersonal, inter-group, or international level.

So far we have suggested a very wide range of violence. According to many definitions, a cat chasing a mouse involves violence just as much as does a person chasing a deer or another person. A person involved in an argument, a crime, a fight, a demonstration, or a war is involved in violence according to many definitions. Some people would contend that converting a park or a housing area into a freeway does violence to the people using or living in those areas, just as the encouragement given by the freeway for individual commuters to drive to work instead of using mass transit systems contributes to the pollution of the environment and does mass violence to everyone who breathes. Finally, some people argue that discrimination and prejudice involve violence of a psychological nature which can be just as damaging to people as is violence of a physical type.

Violence is potentially a very broad topic, but in the remainder of this chapter we shall be concerned with violence at the group level or violence occurring between groups. This focus is chosen for a number of reasons. Theories attempting to explain group violence are relatively plentiful and therefore offer a number of useful examples for study and discussion. Such theory derives in part from ideas used in understanding violence at the individual level, so that in examining theories of group violence we shall learn more about interpersonal violence as well. Such theory is also applicable in large part to international violence, since this is in many ways a form of group violence. This emphasis means that we shall not be dealing with violence as it occurs in nature between other forms of animal life, or with the violence which man directs toward the physical environment in which he lives. Finally, we shall not be concerned with the violence which single individuals direct toward other individuals or groups.

Group violence will often, though not always, be directed toward attempts to achieve some desired goal such as racial equality, the halting of a controversial war, or the achievement of better wages; yet according to most dictionaries, violence involves an "unjust exercise of power." The trouble with this definition is that it does not clarify what "unjust" means. Justice is usually defined by a national government or courts and therefore relates closely to time and/or place. For example, in some countries today it is considered both unjust and inhumane to execute criminals, whereas in other countries criminals are condemned to death for a wide range of different crimes.

A second definition of violence classifies it as a disruption of *order*, but "order," like justice, is defined differently in different times and places. In some countries today a peaceful demonstration against the government would not be allowed because it might destroy "order," whereas other governments allow peaceful demonstrations even though they probably do not like or approve of such actions by their citizens.

Finally, violence may be defined as behavior designed to cause physical injury to people or damage to property. This definition is one that we shall adopt in the remainder of this and the following chapter. *Violence, then, is the behavior or actions of any group of people which are designed or organized to cause physical injury to other groups of people or to cause damage to the property of other groups of people.*

The ideas presented in the rest of this chapter are taken from studies of the causes of violence. Most of them tell us something about violence—without giving us all the answers. In fact, as noted in Chapter 3, different studies emphasize different causes of violence and describe different results.

Explanations of Violence

The many theories about violence and its causes come from diverse fields of study. Even a brief search in a decent library will show that the subject has been studied within the fields of economics, history, political science, psychology, sociology, philosophy, anthropology, law, medicine, and architecture. In reality, however, it is almost impossible to make clear distinctions between theories, to say that an idea or theory belongs to only one field of study. What is important is to try to understand what each theory is able to tell us about the occurrence of violence. We cannot, of course, review all of the studies that deal with violence. What we hope to do is to indicate some of the major ideas dealing with the question, "Why does violence occur?" Keeping in mind that the following sampling of ideas will be taken from many of the fields mentioned above, we shall group such ideas into five broad categories:

1. theories of deprivation
2. theories of expections
3. theories of frustration
4. systemic theories
5. theories of group conflict

The first three categories will be discussed in this chapter, the final two categories in Chapter 5. We should remember that these ideas will agree only in part with each other, or at the very least will emphasize different things. This is not difficult to understand if we think of theory as a potentially useful map of a very complex reality, with each "map" depicting only selected aspects of that real world of violence underneath.

Theories of Deprivation

Theories of deprivation attempt to explain the causes of violence in terms of the degree of deprivation felt by groups of people. In general terms, it occurs when people believe they are being unfairly deprived of something they want. For example, if a factory worker sees that the owner has more money (wealth), is able to give orders to others (power), and is respected by many people in the community (social status), the worker may feel that this situation unfairly or unjustly deprives him of those same benefits. The worker therefore believes himself a victim of deprivation. Those who study this theory and believe that feelings of deprivation cause people to act violently agree upon two points. First, that the people must feel individually that the distribution of wealth, power or perhaps social status is highly uneven. People must realize that they are much poorer, or have much less power, than other people. Secondly, people must sense that their situation is unfair or unjust. To be deprived one must feel that it is not fair for others to have more than he has, or for them to have the chance to acquire more than he can.

Dr. Ted R. Gurr—Relative Deprivation Theory

Dr. Ted R. Gurr, a professor at Northwestern University, is one of the authors of a report on the history of violence in America originally given to President Johnson's *National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* in 1969. According to Dr. Gurr, a major cause of violence among the people of the world is a feeling of "relative deprivation." The more a person feels deprived, that is, the greater the gap between what the person has and what he expects to have, the more discon-

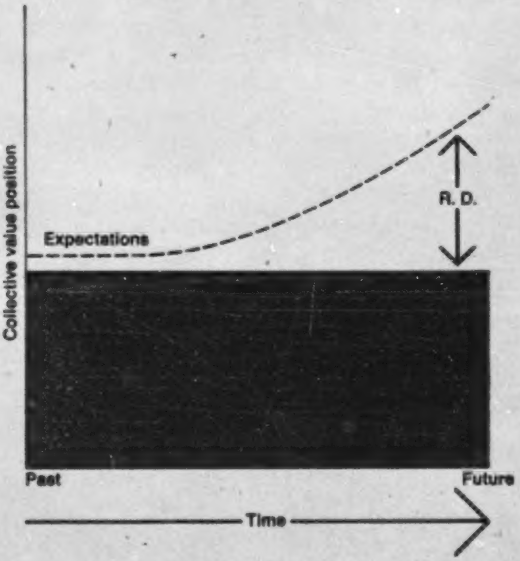


Fig. 4–1. Rising desires or expectations. From Ted R. Gurr, "A Comparative Study of Civil Strife," in H. D. Graham and T. R. Gurr. *The History of Violence in America: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (New York Times-Bantam Books, 1969), p. 598.

tented he will be. The greater the degree of discontent in any group, the greater is the chance that the group will let out its frustration in some act of violence.

This feeling of deprivation does not necessarily relate to any real, measurable presence of deprived conditions; it is instead a state of mind. If someone *feels* deprived of something that he wants, then the person *is* deprived as far as his reactions are concerned. People become most unhappy when they do not have what they think they deserve, or when they think they are not getting what they deserve fast enough. For example, if I think I deserve to go to college but cannot go, then I might feel deprived because I cannot get the education I feel I deserve. If I think I deserve to get a good job but am told that I must first work three years at lesser jobs, I might feel deprived because I am not getting what I think I deserve as fast as I should.

Figures 4–1 through 4–4 show four ways in which feelings of deprivation may occur. The first graph (Fig. 4–1) illustrates one way in which the feeling of deprivation may grow. If during a period of time (time follows the arrow from left to right) a person expects to get more of something (as shown by the dotted line) but his capability to acquire stays the same (as shown by the shaded area), he will feel deprived (the vertical arrow measures the gap or feeling of relative deprivation) because ability has not grown with desire or expectation.

Figure 4–2 illustrates another way in which the feeling of deprivation may grow. If during a period what a person expects to acquire stays the same but his capability to achieve is lessened, he will feel deprived because the ability to get what is wanted has not stayed at the same level as his desires.

Figure 4–3 illustrates yet another way in which the feeling of deprivation may grow. If a person's expectations grow faster than his ability to satisfy them, he will feel deprived. Even though expectations and capabilities are both rising, expectations grow faster and the feeling of deprivation hence becomes greater. For example, acquiring more wealth is not enough if it is not as much as was hoped for.

Figure 4–4 illustrates how the feeling of deprivation may persist. Both what a person expects and his capabilities to satisfy these expectations stay the same for a period of time. Though the feeling of deprivation remains fixed here rather than growing, this situation too may eventually lead people to act violently.

Dr. Gurr then suggests that if people feel deprived of what they believe is *fairly* theirs they may react violently. These reac-

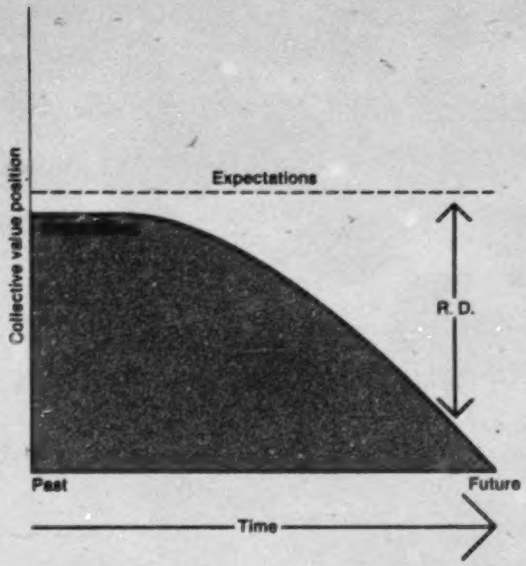

Collective value position
Expectations
R. D.
Past
Future
Time

Fig. 4–2. Falling capabilities or abilities. From Gurr, p. 599.

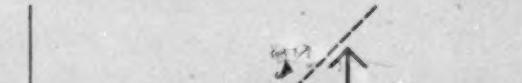

Collective value position
Expectations
R. D.
Past
Future
Time

Fig. 4–3. Progressive deprivation. From Gurr, p. 600.

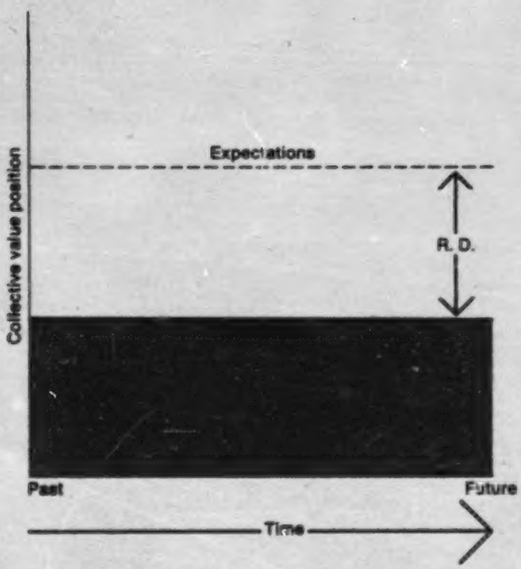


Fig. 4–4. Persisting deprivation. From Gurr, p. 601.

tions may take many forms such as strikes, demonstrations against the government, or perhaps attacks against other groups who are seen as standing in the way of the deprived group's chances of getting what it wants. The cure—bringing people's hopes and abilities into closer conformity—is seemingly simple, but very difficult to accomplish. It may involve both helping people develop their capabilities and perhaps bringing their hopes or expectations more in line with what they can realistically hope to achieve.

Dr. James Davies—J-Curve Theory

Dr. James Davies argues that a major cause of violence is exactly that type of progressive deprivation suggested by Dr. Gurr in Fig. 4–3. Davies observes that people feel deprived when they make comparisons between their present level of achievement and the level of achievement that they anticipate they will reach in the future. People may also feel deprived when they make comparisons with what they achieved in the past and what they have in the present or hope for in the future. Dr. Davies' theory,

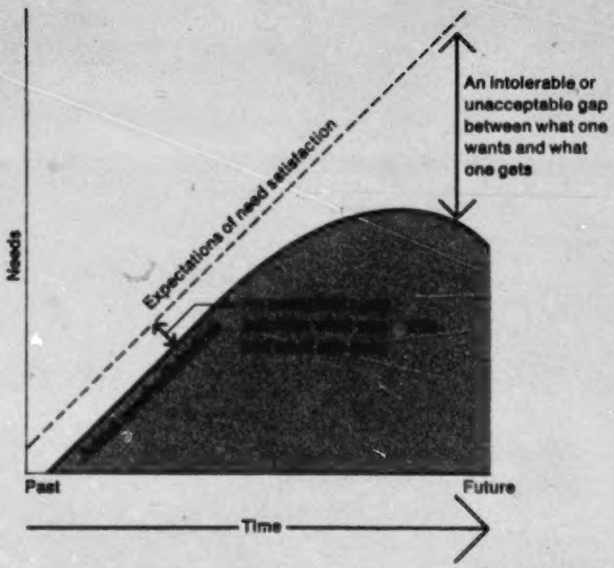


Fig. 4–5. J-Curve of satisfaction. From James C. Davies, "The J-Curve of Rising and Declining Satisfaction As a Cause of Some Great Revolutions and a Contained Rebellion," in H. D. Graham and T. R. Gurr. *The History of Violence in America: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (New York Times-Bantam Books, 1969), p. 691.

called the J-Curve because of the shape of one line on the graph, is that violence is most likely when a long period of both rising expectations and rising fulfillment is followed by a short period during which fulfillment drops sharply and the resulting gap becomes intolerable. As frustration develops, it eventually reaches the point where it will erupt into violence.

Dr. Davies' theory would seem to suggest that whereas the type of progressive deprivation described in Fig. 4–3 and Fig. 4–5 will lead to violence, the type of persisting deprivation described in Fig. 4–4 will not lead to violence because people have grown accustomed to a steady gap between what they have and what they would like.

In summary, Dr. Davies argues that deprivation causes violence when conditions that people are accustomed to change abruptly. For example, if I expect to get a $25.00 raise every year but actually receive only $20.00 I will probably remain content.

However, if after six years of $20.00 raises, I get only a $15.00 raise the seventh year and a $5.00 raise the eighth year I might feel deprived and become unhappy. According to Dr. Davies, if during the ninth year I get a $5.00 cut in pay, I may become so discontent that I would join in acts of violence as one way of releasing frustration at being treated in a manner which I felt was unfair.

One example of deprivation theory in America may be seen in case of racial or ethnic minority groups. From what we learn in school and what many see in our society, people often feel that we are all indeed created equal, with equal opportunities for self-betterment. Many minority groups, however, argue that this is a myth—that they are deprived of equal opportunities to attend good schools, get decent jobs, or live in adequate housing. According to the theories of Gurr and Davies, much of the violence and unrest in America has been caused by the deprivations felt by racial and ethnic minority groups—Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Orientals, Irish, and many others at different times in our history. Whether or not deprivation theories adequately describe the causes of many recent cases of violence involving minority groups in our society you must decide for yourself.

Other examples that may fit the deprivation theory are also found in the United States and many other nations of the world today. What of the women's movements—does the deprivation theory tell us anything about the movement for women's liberation? Does the theory suggest the possibilities for violence in such a movement? What of the middle class in America today? What events could lead relatively comfortable middle-class groups to feel deprived and perhaps reach a point of frustration where they might react in some violent way?

Theories of Expectations

Theories of expectations are similar to those of deprivation, but they attempt to explain the causes of violence in terms of the feeling of dissatisfaction that results from the comparison between what a person has at present and what he aspires to. The distance between what a person has and what he wants creates the gap or feeling of dissatisfaction that may lead to violence. Clearly this merges with our previous theory of deprivation. People may be dissatisfied if what they have does not equal what they expected to have. Such dissatisfaction may lead to violence.

If people are dissatisfied with what they have *and* realize that others have more, they may feel deprived and may act violently. That people who feel deprived are more likely to act violently than people who are simply unhappy with their lot seems likely although it has not been proved.

One example of the expectation theory is shown in what is called the revolution of rising expectations, a situation in which people's expectations rise faster than their capabilities, or perhaps the government's ability, to give them what they want. Such a situation is similar to that shown in Figs. 4–1 and 4–3. In both cases what is expected rises faster than does the prospect of fulfillment. Some students of the subject believe that the violence which has occurred in the developing nations of the world can often be explained by this theory. Many of the emerging countries of Asia and Africa have only recently gained political freedom. Typically, the peoples of these countries felt

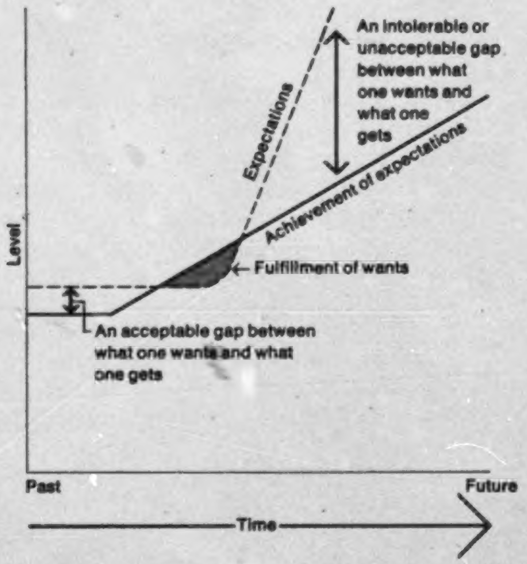

An intolerable or unacceptable gap between what one wants and what one gets
Expectations
Achievement of expectations
Level
Fulfillment of wants
An acceptable gap between what one wants and what one gets
Past
Future
Time

Fig. 4–6. Revolution of rising expectations. Based upon a graph by I. K. Feierabend, R. L. Feierabend, and B. A. Nesvold, "Social Change and Political Violence: Cross-National Patterns," in H. D. Graham and T. R. Gurr. *The History of Violence in America: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (New York Times-Bantam Books, 1969), p. 642.

that with independence would come quick and dramatic improvements. After these nations became free, however, they often lacked the trained personnel, money, and natural resources to meet their citizens' expectations or demands. Often, although the people's immediate demands are satisfied (as indicated by the shaded area in Fig. 4–6), the demands continue to grow at a rate too steep for developing countries to match. When individual expectations for a better life are not met by the new governments, people often react violently with demonstrations and riots.

Some would argue that the situation is similar in the developing nations of Latin America, although Latin American nations have been independent for almost as long as the United States. If it was not the thought of gaining their freedom and having their own government that caused people's expectations to rise in Latin America, what could it have been? What could cause a revolution of rising expectations in Latin America? In the ghettos of American cities?

Theories of Frustration

The third broad category of theories deals with frustration and its contribution to the causes of aggression and violence. Many psychologists suggest that violent aggressive acts are always the result of frustration. This theory then partially fits the explanations offered by the theories of deprivation and expectation. If people are deprived, they will very often be frustrated. Frustration occurs when people cannot get what they want. According to many psychologists, this frustration will always result in some sort of aggressive action, often, though not always, violent. The three groups of theories all deal with similar ideas of deprivation, frustration, and violent reactions. When combined, these theories may tell us something important about the causes of violence in the world.

Frustration and Aggression[1]

When possible, aggression will be directed toward the cause of the frustration; otherwise it may be taken out on something or someone else. For example, if a student is bored with school, gets poor grades, and is as a result continuously in trouble with teachers, he may be frustrated. Aggression caused by this frustration may be directed toward the cause of the frustration, the school. Perhaps the aggression will be nonviolent. The student may simply call teachers names or disrupt classes. But physical violence may also result. Books may be ruined, school equipment vandalized, or teachers and fellow students physically attacked.

---

[1] This section is based upon the work of J. Dollard, Leonard W. Doob, Neal E. Miller, O. H. Mowrer, and Robert S. Sears, *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).

Sometimes, however, it is not possible to vent pent-up frustrations in aggressive behavior against the source of frustrations. Perhaps the student will decide that he will get into too much trouble if aggressive acts are committed in school. His aggression will then have to seek other targets. The frustrated student may cause trouble at home, steal from stores, vandalize buildings, rip-off cars, or commit other violent acts. For the student, however, such actions may not be completely satisfactory. Breaking a car window might relieve some frustration, but it does not "get back" at the school. If the aggression cannot strike the cause of the frustration, the frustration will remain or grow. In our example the student may continue to be unhappy, frustrated, and involved in other acts of aggression and violence.

Frustration and Society

The type of frustration that we have been talking about occurs in single individuals. However, some condition may cause an entire group to become frustrated. The school may frustrate a large number of students. A lack of jobs may frustrate many of the unemployed. High taxes may frustrate most taxpayers. When groups of people are frustrated, their aggressive acts may create very serious problems. It has been partly the frustration of the desires of some groups of individuals that has led to violence in Northern Ireland, the Middle East, and the ghettos of American cities.

Two investigators, Ivo and Rosalind Feierabend, have attempted to take this basic frustration theory and use it to study whole societies or groups of people who make up the population of nations. The Feierabends found that in most of the countries which they studied the frustration theory seemed the best one to explain much of that nation's violence. In each country they had looked at hopes and expectations, and the degree to which these were being fulfilled. The difference between what people hoped for and the number of satisfied hopes was used as a measure of frustration.

The Feierabends' study is long and involved, but for our purposes yields a readily observable and very interesting point. The societies or nations which had the highest general levels of frustration were also those which had the highest levels of political instability, as reflected in such things as large-scale demonstrations,, arrests, assassinations, civil wars, etc. The Feierabends' study thus provides us with support for the frustration theory. Their findings show that the higher the general level of frustration among a large group of people, the higher will be the number and degree of aggressive acts. The question for future studies is to decide how consistently the frustration theory works. The reverse thesis would also be useful to explore: that where frustration levels are generally low, so too are occasions of group violence.

Among numerous recent examples of the frustration theory is the situation of the Middle East. When Israel became an independent nation in 1948 many Palestinians of Arab descent were forced to leave the area because of the heavy fighting between Jews and Arabs. Many of these Palestinians continue to live in refugee camps in the neighboring Arab nations of Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. Most of them are anxious to return to their homeland and are bitter about having lost their homes to the Jews. The hopes of the Palestinians to return home are frustrated by the fact that the Jews control Israel and are militarily very strong. The Palestinians therefore feel deprived and frustrated.

This frustration has been expressed in many acts of aggression. The Palestinians have sent protests to the United Nations and have asked other Arab nations for help in getting their homelands back. There have also been many acts of violence. Palestinian commando teams raid Israeli towns and farms, hijack airlines for ransom money, and in 1972 assassinated a number of Israel's athletes at the Olympic games in Munich. The situation of the Palestinians in the Middle East and their reaction to their situation seems to support the frustration theory.

Many other cases that may be examples of the frustration theory in action are easy to find and will probably be the subjects of future study. What of the Blacks, Chicanos, and American Indians in the United States? What are their hopes? What might frustrate their hopes? What can they do about their situation? What acts have been committed by these groups as a response to frustration? We might ask similar questions of groups of women, students, or workers in the United States or in other nations around the world. Certainly all nations at differing points in time have had groups of people who have felt deprived and frustrated.

Conclusion

The three theories discussed in this chapter suggest that much, though certainly not all, of the violence found in different groups at different points in time can be explained to some degree through the lenses of deprivation, expectation, and frustration. When combined, these three theories explain a good part of the reason for violence. The next chapter will present additional ways of exploring violence to expand further the possibilities for explaining its occurrence in the world.

Chapter 5

Divergent Views on Violence

Introduction

The theories in Chapter 4 dealt with feelings of deprivation, expectation, and frustration. As such, they are applicable both to individuals and to groups. The theories in Chapter 5 are perhaps more applicable to groups, although they too draw upon the study of individuals in violent or potentially violent situations.

Systemic Theories

Some theories suggest that violence may be partly the result of the social system in which people live. The way a society and its institutions (government, police, courts, etc.) act may cause people eventually to react in a violent manner. During periods when the structure of a society is changing, or when people's values are shifting, it may be very difficult for some groups to continue to agree with the social system's rules or values.

As an example, when a society becomes more urban it may be difficult for groups from rural areas to adjust to new ways of life in the urban environment. Such individuals may find the adjustment to different moral and religious values in the city painful or downright impossible. They may dislike the strict time-clock requirements of most urban jobs. They may find that a feeling of "community" they had has been lost in the city. In many areas of the world, including parts of the United States, groups from rural areas have been ridiculed for their type of speech and way of dress. Finally, rural groups may find that their political values are different, perhaps more conservative, than those of the urbanites. All of these possibilities may cause the rural migrant to the city to become alienated. In such cases groups of alienated people may attempt to challenge or change the rules of society and may resort to violent means.

Alienation and Society

Systems theory concerns itself with an examination of the systems and subsystems which together make up a total structure—in this case society. The emphasis is more on the system itself—the economic or political system, for instance—rather than on how individuals react to it. For our purposes, systems theory proposes that it is changes in a particular system or changes in the rules of the game (standards accepted by dominant parts of a society which specify proper behavior or attitudes for individuals) that cause people to become alienated. An alienated individual can no longer accept certain rules or ways of life in the society in which he lives.

Many ethnic minorities and many women in the United States have been alienated by the American political system. Earlier in our history these groups were unable to vote in public elections. Today, although women and ethnic minorities can vote, they generally find that only gradually are they themselves being accepted as candidates for public office. These same groups feel that the economic system also discriminates against them, for they often find it difficult to get good jobs or a salary equaling that of others doing a similar type of work.

The social system is also viewed as being discriminatory. Ethnic minorities are often excluded from many social clubs and organizations and still find it difficult to be accepted in certain residential areas. Women face a number of social barriers. When a woman marries she is expected to give up her own name, a practice that dates back to times when women were considered the legal property of the husband. Many individuals in these groups are therefore alienated by certain of society's systems.

Dr. David Schwartz in *Anger, Violence and Politics*, has suggested that alienated individuals go through a number of stages or steps before they are ready to react in some violent manner. During the first stages a person moves from seeing agreement between the system and personal values to seeing disagreement between these same values. The individual realizes at some point that his values are different from those evident in the system. The person then must attempt to make his values and the system agree *or* to ignore either the values or the system itself. It may be difficult to bring together personal values and a system in disagreement, and it would usually be very difficult to ignore either one's own values or the system in which one must live. In such a situation the person may try to withdraw from the system.

For example, if a person holds democratic values but feels that the political system discriminates against him, he might decide not to contribute to political campaigns, vote in elections, or even keep up with political news in the papers. However, such a situation is usually not satisfactory for most individuals. After a period of withdrawal (which may last from a few weeks to a few years), many people will become angry at the frustration they feel. If the theories discussed in Chapter 4 are correct, it is at this stage that frustration leads to aggression.

At first the aggression may be directed toward the immediate cause of the frustration. The aggression in the example above would be directed toward the political system. The individual might begin to feel that the system is unfair and cynically disregards "true political values." Dr. Schwartz suggests that in the final stages of alienation the individual will begin to generalize both feelings of frustration and acts of aggression. Instead of directing the aggression only toward the political system, the individual may begin to feel that all aspects of the society have something wrong with them. In the final stages of alienation the individual is ready to attack any objects he associates with his frustration. It is at this point that people may react violently.

If in some system a change has occurred which causes a large number of people to become alienated, this group could pose serious problems for the entire society. In such a situation the authorities have three possible courses of action open to them. First, they can attempt to convince the alienated group of the legitimacy and fairness of the changes—and also that the system is supported by the authorities. If this attempt is successful the group will accept the new rules and will cease to be alienated. The changes will be accepted.

Secondly, the authorities may enact reforms, making additional changes to bring the system into line with what the alienated group values. Such reforms, however, may alienate other groups who favored the initial changes. Some groups will have to be somewhat alienated because few systems can make all groups happy.

Finally, the authorities may repress the alienated group. If a large number of people are satisfied with a change in the system, the authorities may decide that the feelings of an alienated minority are unimportant. If such alienation leads to violence, the authorities may meet force with force to repress the group.

Balanced Societies

In a major study on drastic change in societies, Dr. Chalmers Johnson has concluded that we cannot understand violence and its causes unless we understand the societies and the social systems in which violence occurs. In *Revolutionary Change,* Dr. Johnson argues that the possibility for violence in a society depends to a great extent upon its specific social systems. He states that if we can begin to understand how some systems manage to hold together where others fall apart, then we can begin to try to resolve problems before they lead to such individual reactions as alienation, feelings of deprivation, and subsequent acts of violence by individuals and groups.

Most systems theories state that in order to exist a system must perform certain tasks. First, a system must socialize people. That is, people must be taught the rules of the system, and they must be convinced that the rules are both necessary and basically fair. Secondly, the system must be able to adapt to its environment; that is, the system must be capable of making changes to suit new demands.

The environment of a particular system is the total of all conditions, circumstances, and influences surrounding the system. For example, the environment of an economic system would include such things as the form of government, the culture, the psychological needs of the people, the country's natural resources, etc. The effects of the environment upon a system may vary from weak to strong, from direct to indirect. At times a change in a system's environment may affect the system only slightly, whereas at other times a change (perhaps the same one) will have a great effect upon the system. Third, the system must be able to attain goals. Such goals might be to make the people in the system content, to keep the system functioning over a long period, or perhaps to influence other systems. Lastly, the system must be able to integrate all of its parts so that it may function well and accomplish its other tasks.

In most societies the task of teaching people to accept the system and the way it works (socialization) is carried out by the family and the schools. A number of these social segments may therefore help the system adapt to its changing environment, and help people adapt to the system. Science helps people understand the environment, and together with the economic system helps exploit the environment.

The system of government and courts may regulate the way in which people can react to the environment. It may be legal to mine for iron ore, for example, but illegal to dump the mine wastes into waterways. The system must be set up so that a number of different groups can attain their goals: in the United States the churches may have their religious meetings, businessmen may buy and sell goods, and people may engage in a wide variety of vocational and recreational pursuits. The system must also keep a large enough number of people contented so that they will support its continued existence, even though the system may undergo changes from time to time. Finally the system should be organized so that different groups are integrated to the point where they can exist together and work together to accomplish mutually desired goals.

Such a system would be described as being in equilibrium or balance. Most people will be taught to accept the system, and they will agree with most of its features. The system will be able to adapt to the environment through a series of relatively minor changes, even though these changes may cause some turmoil. Most groups within the system will achieve enough of their goals, getting enough of what they had hoped for, to remain generally content with and supportive of the system. Though groups will certainly disagree on a number of goals, they will agree sufficiently about the major ones to be able to work together and to maintain the system. In short, the system will exist over a period of time with relatively few changes. Political democracy is one example of such a system. Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism are examples of religious systems which fit this description.

Figure 5–1 indicates a way of viewing a political system. In this model the citizens make demands upon the right to rule through either passive acceptance or active support such as voting. The government, on the other hand, has the legitimate right to make decisions and to use either law or force (coercive potential) to maintain order within the society. The government, in return for the support of its citizens; supplies them certain benefits (such services as tax collection, road building, or the legal settlement of disputes). Finally, this balanced political

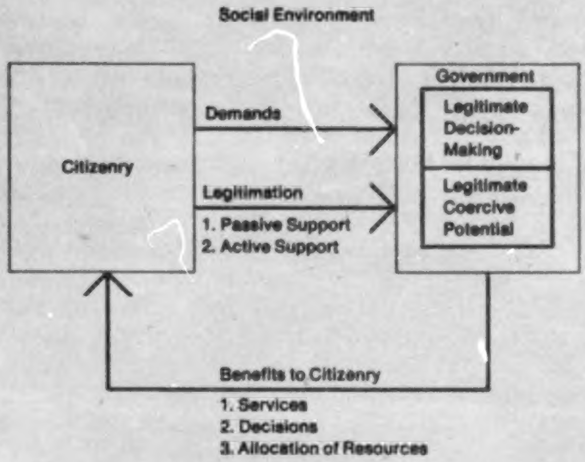

Social Environment
Citizenry
Demands
Legitimation
1. Passive Support
2. Active Support
Government
Legitimate Decision-Making
Legitimate Coercive Potential
Benefits to Citizenry
1. Services
2. Decisions
3. Allocation of Resources

Fig. 5–1. The political system. Based in part upon the work of Dr. David Easton, this model of a political system was developed by, and is reproduced here with the permission of, Ms. Charlotte Redden, University of Denver.

system exists in a larger social environment or social system. The political system presented in this model would become unbalanced either if the government could no longer supply the benefits demanded by the citizens or if the citizens withdrew their support of the government by no longer recognizing it as having a legitimate right to rule.

Unbalanced Societies

A serious problem arises when a system becomes unbalanced. In terms of the theories discussed in Chapter 4, this would occur when a large enough group became dissatisfied and frustrated. As has already been pointed out, this could happen for a number of reasons. Perhaps the schools have not socialized some group to the point of accepting the system. Perhaps the system has not adapted to a change in the environment, and this makes some group unhappy or thwarted. Perhaps some groups in the system have not accepted the integration of another group. Whatever the cause, when a system becomes unbalanced or groups begin to feel deprived, alienated, and frustrated, the possibility of violence arises.

Figure 5–2 indicates a way of looking at the factors that may cause a system to become unbalanced and perhaps lead to outbreaks of violence. Any number of events may lead a system to become unbalanced. For example, as certain natural resources such as oil are depleted the economic and even political systems of some nations may become unbalanced. Unless science finds other reasonable sources of energy, transportation may come to a halt and industry will be crippled. This in turn will lead to severe problems, with many groups becoming frustrated with both their economic condition and their political leaders.

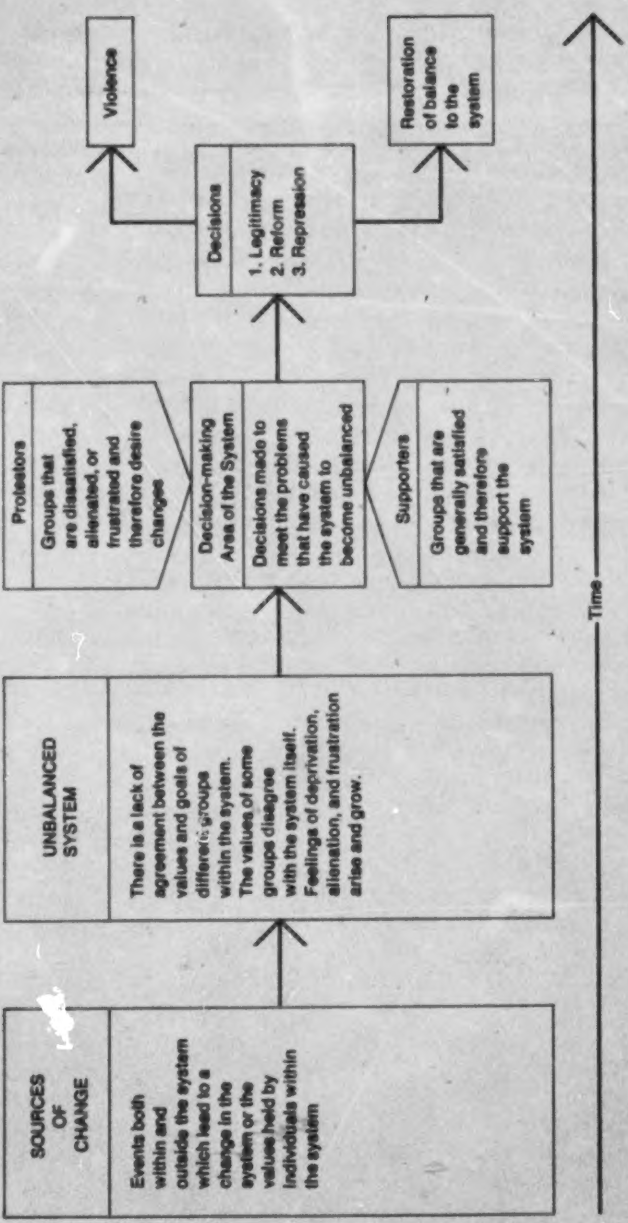
Whatever the cause of the imbalance, the authorities (decision-makers) in the system must act to meet the problems. During the decision-making process the authorities must first be aware of the capabilities and elasticity of the system. They must know the ability of the system itself to absorb shocks of change, and to react to new demands. Then they must know which groups are dissatisfied, why, and what might change their attitude to one of satisfaction. Finally, the authorities need to know which groups support the system, what changes these supporting groups will be willing to accept, and which they will reject.

Once the final decision is to be made, the authorities have open to them the three general options discussed in the last section: They may attempt to convince the dissatisfied group that there is really no just cause for dissatisfaction and that the system is both legitimate and fair. On the other hand, they may decide to attempt to reform the system; or they may decide to use the police, courts, or armed forces to repress any dissident group that acts violently.

All decisions have the possibility either of satisfying most groups to the point where the system could be said to be in balance once again, or of leading to further alienation, frustration, and possible violence.

Which decisions are made by the authorities may depend partly upon the system itself and its capability of reacting to changes. Decisions will also depend upon the authorities and the groups involved and their ability and willingness to face problems realistically and to attempt to understand other groups' points of view. An important two-pronged question we should now tackle is what causes groups of people to react either peacefull or violently to such imbalance.

Fig. 5–2. Unbalanced systems and violence. Derived from the work of Chalmers Johnson, *Revolutionary Change* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966), p. 106.


SOURCES OF CHANGE
Events both within and outside the system which lead to a change in the system or the values held by individuals within the system
UNBALANCED SYSTEM
There is a lack of agreement between the values and goals of different groups within the system. The values of some groups disagree with the system itself. Feelings of deprivation, alienation, and frustration arise and grow.
Protestors
Groups that are dissatisfied, alienated, or frustrated and therefore desire changes
Decision-making Area of the System
Decisions made to meet the problems that have caused the system to become unbalanced
Supporters
Groups that are generally satisfied and therefore support the system
Decisions
1. Legitimacy
2. Reform
3. Repression
Violence
Restoration of balance to the system
Time

Balance or Imbalance?

Imagine yourself as the head of state of a densely populated, recently industrialized country whose workers in the country's single most important industry have been away from their jobs for several weeks in protest against static wages and inflated prices. What can you do to prevent an outbreak of violence while getting the workers back on the job? One of the difficulties is to decide at an early stage when a system is moving toward imbalance, in this case perhaps involving an entire economy or legal order. Generally it is easier at this point to stop dissatisfaction before it grows to the point of alienation and frustration. This of course assumes that we can tell when a system is moving toward imbalance or when a system has within itself the conditions that could lead to violence. Presently we have no valid way of measuring degrees of imbalance or possibilities for violence within a society. The studies being conducted by Dr. Ted Gurr of Northwestern University or Dr. John McCamant of the University of Denver are steps in that direction, although we still have a long way to go before we can hope to recognize and correct problems at early, pre-violent stages.

The solution to this hypothetical problem also assumes that the authorities or decision-makers are capable and willing to act when problems are recognized. If studies indicate problems, but the authorities cannot or will not act, those problems may lead to imbalance and possible violence. History is mixed in this regard. The problem of disease control, for example, has generally been met by the creation of public health services and scientific research. Many other problems, however, have not been faced squarely and have contributed to many cases of violence around the world.

Finally, if we could indeed predict when a system was moving toward imbalance, we should have to assume that the major groups belonging to the system would wish to restore balance. In such a case the authorities would be supported in their efforts to confront the problems facing the system, perhaps making minor reforms or adjustments to meet new conditions in the environment or satisfying the new desires of some groups in the system.

Again, however, history indicates that this has not always been the case. In many societies there have been groups who did not wish to see balance restored through minor reforms and have instead sought for an entirely new balance. Such a major change will often be opposed by both the authorities and other groups within the system who may be generally satisfied and content. In this case the dissatisfied group must often resort to violence, such as riot, civil war, or revolution, if it hopes to achieve the major changes it desires. If problems are realized before they grow in importance, and if the authorities act to resolve them, perhaps no dissatisfied groups will emerge. However, once these groups appear, they pose a problem for the authorities and will influence their decisions (as shown in Fig. 5–2).

Examples that illustrate systemic theories exist in many nations. In Latin America today many nations are faced with large movements of people from the countryside to the city, and most of them have rapidly rising populations, both rural and urban. Many of these countries face economic problems as they attempt to feed their increasing numbers and to build industries. They are also beset with political problems, since many groups (such as the rural poor, the urban lower classes, and the Indians or Blacks in some countries) are asking to be integrated into the system and to have their hopes and desires met. In these nations the ability and willingness of both the political and economic systems to meet growing demands are strained. In many countries imbalance has occurred and has led to violence.

Ernesto "Che" Guevara, a leader of the Cuban revolution, stated that all Latin American political systems are unbalanced and that there are deprived and alienated groups in all Latin American countries (except Cuba). Che Guevara felt that the only reason violence does not occur more frequently is that the people often do not realize how deprived they really are *and* that the authorities repress any and all alienated groups. Thus, all Latin American societies are poised for outbreaks of violence, awaiting only the "right" leader to rally and lead the alienated and frustrated groups. Guevara's theory, however, is open to question. Although he states that all Latin American societies are unbalanced, he does so without proof. Indeed, as we have observed, there simply is no way at present to prove such a point. Guevara's revolutionary point of view colored his interpretation of reality. If we disagree with his revolutionary goals it is also easy to reject some of his conclusions. It is not unlikely that some governments can accomplish enough in the way of change or reform to bring their systems back into balance.

Most Latin American societies, like most societies elsewhere in the world, face problems that could eventually cause an imbalance. The difficulty lies in establishing the existence of major problems and then moving to combat them before they lead to violence. The long-range question is whether or not violence will burst forth in most countries as Guevara predicted or whether people will learn to resolve problems in a peaceful manner.

There are other examples that might illustrate the systemic theory. Could not the civil disorders in Northern Ireland be said to stem from an imbalance in the system? Were the urban riots in the United States in the late 1960s caused by similar imbalance? If so, what in our political, economic, and social systems could have led to it? Finally, we should examine the international system of nation-states. What leads to fighting between such nations as Britain and Iceland or the United States and Ecuador over fishing rights in the oceans? What has led to the fighting in the Middle East between Israel and the Arab states? At the international level, what authorities or decision-makers exist which can bring the system back into balance, and how effective are these authorities?

Group Conflict Theories

Group conflict theories attempt to explain the causes of violence in terms of struggles or conflicts between groups within a society. Generally such theories come from the fields of economics and history, although such fields as political science, sociology, anthropology, and law have also made contributions. Such theories direct their attention toward splits within society. These splits may be partly racial, as in the United States or South Africa, religious as in Northern Ireland, regional as in the West Pakistan-Bangladesh Civil War, based on language differences as in India or Belgium, or economic as was at least to some extent the case in all of these examples. Generally, if different factors reinforce each other, the problems will be more difficult to resolve and the possibilities of violence will be heightened.

While we may observe that a split between groups is primarily the result of one factor, such as race, usually a number of other factors will also figure. India is an excellent example. Its peoples are Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, and Hindu, with the Hindus split into many different sects. There are an estimated twenty to thirty major languages in India, such as Hindi or Urdu, and upwards of 500 different dialects. Social and regional differences are worsened by religious differences and the poor communications caused by langauge barriers. Racial distinctions between the taller, light-skinned Aryan peoples from northern India and the shorter, dark-skinned Dravidians in the south heighten and aggravate these other differences. Economic differences also play a part. Because of the caste system of India, certain groups have less economic opportunity than others. All of these factors contribute to the group conflicts in India today. The same general types of factors also lead to similar types of group conflict in many other nations or societies, often ending in violence rather than peaceful resolution.

Table 5–1 is by no means a comprehensive listing of group violence. It is designed to indicate briefly the wide range and diversity of occurrences of group violence within the past few years. The reasons for such outbreaks are evidently numerous. It would be useful at this point to discuss some of these causes in somewhat greater detail.

Racial and Ethnic Conflicts

Some conflicts have their origins in the different racial or ethnic backgrounds of groups within a society. The United States, with its racial and ethnic diversity, has undergone such conflict many times in its history. Mainly because of these backgrounds, American Indians, Spanish-Americans, Chinese, Afro-Americans, Irish, Germans, and Japanese have at various times been subjected to attack. Yet the problem seems to be worldwide. Asians have been involved in group conflicts as the minority group in England, The Netherlands, Guyana, and such African nations as Uganda, Kenya, and South Africa. Chinese have been the targets of attack in Indonesia, Malaysia, and other nations of Southeast Asia. Jews have been similarly singled out in many countries throughout history, although these attacks have been based as much on religious as on ethnic grounds.

Some historians would argue that such problems may have been among the major causes of violence within nations and even between nations. In fact, some U.S. historians today argue that Europe's claiming of colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, as well as westward expansion of the United States, can be tied to racial theories. The argument is that the "white" European groups felt that it was their right and duty to conquer and "civilize" other peoples. This of course is only one interpretation of history, but it does present some interesting questions.

If racial and ethnic problems have indeed been a major cause of violence in the past, we have good reason to wonder

Table 5-1. Partial Listing of Group Violence—1973

Africa

Angola: 130 casualties as guerrillas overrun a Portugese garrison in the continuing fight for Angolan independence.

Burundi: 50,000 dead in this year's clashes between Tutsi and Hutus in continued tribal warfare.

Congo: 12 guerrillas killed as government troops continue their efforts to erradicate left-wing rebel movements.

Ghana: Union officials and workers engaging in strikes will in the future be tried by military tribunals under a new subversion decree.

Mauritania: After a violent clash with police based on tribal differences, the army has been confined to barracks.

Rhodesia: Guerrilla activity has increased as the white minority government moves toward an open policy of apartheid.

South Africa: Police use clubs and tear gas to end a recent strike of African construction workers. Fifteen student leaders (black and white) are expelled for anti-government activities.

Tanzania: Nine men have been sentenced to death for treason by a people's court for the assassination of the Vice-President, Abeid Karume.

Americas

Argentina: Left and right wings of the Peronist Party engage in violent physical conflict over control of the party as rebel violence continues.

Bolivia: A conservative plot to overthrow the government was ended following a violent gunfight. Bolivia has had 181 governments in 147 years.

Brazil: The fight continues by exiled Brazilians and religious leaders to have Brazil condemned by the U.N. for torture of political prisoners.

Chile: Following demonstrations by housewives and a bitter strike by truckers, the democratically elected government was overthrown in a bloody military coup.

Colombia: Trials continue for 136 persons accused of rebel activities. Six ranchers are on trial for the slaughter of a number of Indians.

Mexico: The government has acknowledged the activity of at least eight guerrilla groups. In Tijuana troops and bulldozers forcefully evicted over 200 families "squatting" on land owned by the government.

United States: Injuries and deaths result due to a violent trucker's strike during the energy crisis. Numerous American Indians arrested in a range of protests.

Uruguay: An all-out military offensive is designed to eliminate the Tupamaros (leftist rebels).

Asia

Bangladesh: More than 2,000 deaths have occurred because of political violence since the end of the revolutionary war.

Cambodia: A bloody toll in lives continues to be taken in the civil war between government troops and the rebel Khmer Rouge.

India: 30 dead as troops attempt to end a police rebellion in Uttar Pradesh. In Calcutta some 3,000 to 5,000 Naxalites (Maoist dissidents) have been jailed.

Table 5–1. Partial Listing of Group Violence—1973 (cont'd.)

Asia (cont'd.)

Indonesia: 15 injured in violent demonstrations against corruption in government and economic exploitation by the Japanese.

Korea: Police use clubs to arrest long-haired youths in a move to halt "permissiveness and decadence."

Phillipines: 1,756 dead in fights between government troops in the north with communist rebels and in the south with separatist Moslems.

Sri Lanka (Ceylon): 4,000 face trial for guerrilla activity as the Indian Tamils continue to protest their "second-class" citizenship.

Thailand: Following violent student demonstrations the government is reconstituted and a new constitution is to be drafted.

Vietnam: The cease-fire notwithstanding, violent fighting in Vietnam continues to take its toll.

Europe

Greece: Prime Minister is replaced in a military coup following student violence.

Northern Ireland: Militant Catholic IRA forces and the Protestant Ulster Defense League clash as the death toll rises.

Italy: Numerous deaths in a Palestinian guerrilla attack at Rome's International airport, the third in a year.

Portugal: 10,000 additional troops are rushed to Mozambique as the Portugese desperately attempt to retain their colonial holdings in Africa.

Spain: Basque nationalists continue their terrorist campaign against the government in their attempt to form a separate Basque state.

U.S.S.R.: Soviet authorities continue their efforts to eliminate the human rights movement in the Soviet Union. The deportation of Nobel prize-winning Alexander Solzhenitsyn was but one step in a long campaign.

Yugoslavia: A military firing squad executes three men for counter-revolutionary activity.

Middle East and North Africa

Iran: Three guerrillas were killed in clashes with government troops in continued political violence in Iran.

Israel: Police forcefully repress a left-wing political demonstration in Jerusalem protesting Israeli conduct of the war with its Arab neighbors.

Jordan: Six Palestinians were recently killed as Jordanian troops moved to enforce Jordanian law upon the Palestinians located in refugee camps in Jordan.

Morocco: 200 to 300 arrested as the government destroys a Libyan-financed terrorist movement designed to overthrow King Hassan II.

Sudan: Violence continues to plague governmental efforts to heal the deep divisions between the Arab north and the African south.

Yemen: Four saboteurs were shot and four crucified in a governmental crackdown on leftist guerrilla movements within the country.

Source: *The New York Times Index*, 1973, *Deadline Data on World Affairs*, 1973, and the *Journal of Contemporary Revolutions*, 1973 edition.

and worry about the future. The history of the world during the last twenty years does not seem to indicate that humans have made much progress toward reducing the differences or problems between racial and ethnic groups which have led to violence in the past.

Religious Conflicts

Many conflicts between groups are caused by religious differences. The long, costly crusades of the Christian Europeans against the Muslims of North Africa and the Middle East during the Middle Ages were based in large part on such differences. The many European wars of the 1500s were often based on religious arguments between Catholics and Protestants. In the 1970s the outbreaks of violence in Northern Ireland, between India and Pakistan, and between Israel and its Arab neighbors are based in part on religious differences.

Some historians would argue that religious differences rank almost as high as do racial and ethnic issues as causes of violence in the world. This was true at least from A.D. 600 to the 1600s. Early in the 600s Muslim expansion led to 800 years of religious warfare. This was followed by more than 100 years of bitter warfare between different Christian denominations. In fact, many of the colonies in the Americas were established by religious groups fleeing violent persecution in Europe.

The degree to which religious differences are the cause of violence in the world today remains to be established, yet religious differences do seem to be at least major supporting causes of many of its outbreaks. We might conclude that religion itself has not been too successful in establishing the peace and brotherhood which form part of the credo of all of the major religions.

Table 2–3 indicates the extent to which racial, ethnic, and religious conflicts of a violent nature have disrupted the nations of the world in the recent past.

Class Conflict

Theories dealing with class conflict generally state that violence is due to differences, usually economic, between classes. (The usual classification scheme places people in upper, middle, and lower classes.) According to sociological and economic theories which deal with class conflict, the upper class is generally seen as being in control of the wealth and the means of production (factories, supplies, etc.). They are said to use its power to enslave and exploit the lower classes who must work for their living with their hands.

Without a doubt, the most famous exponent of the class theory of violent conflict is Karl Marx. Marx stated that all conflict could be traced to the economic differences between the classes and to the exploitation of the lower classes by the upper class. For such differences to result in violent conflict, however, the lower classes would have to be aware of these economic differences. It might therefore be possible to state that class conflict can arise only if the lower classes feel deprived, become alienated and frustrated, and see violent aggression as one means of resolving their problems. The theory of class conflict may then use theories of deprivation and frustration to attempt to prove or support the argument that most of the violence in the world is the result of differences between social or economic classes.

Conflict between classes has occurred many times in history. There have been peasant revolts against landlords throughout Europe, Asia, and Latin America. Since the coming of the Industrial Age there have been countless labor disputes between workers and the owners of industry. Class antagonism, then, is definitely one cause of violence, possibly even a major cause. What is questionable, however, is whether Marx's suggestion that all conflict of a violent nature is ultimately due to class antagonism based on economic differences is true.

Although in any one case it may be possible to state that racial or religious or class differences are the major cause of violence, it is generally true that a number of factors play a part. The issue for the future is to understand how each of the different factors combines with or influences each other to produce violence.

Regional Conflicts

The Italians of northern Italy look down upon the Italians of southern Italy and Sicily. The Germans of the Rhineland look down upon the southern Germans of Bavaria. The Colombians from the state of Antioquia look down upon all other Colombians. The United States harbors many regional differences between North and South, East and West and between urban and rural areas. An example of the antagonism existing between residents of different states is that many native Coloradans have a strong dislike for Texans.

In general, however, regional difficulties are usually based in large part upon racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, or economic problems. The American Civil War was fought as much for economic reasons as for any other cause. The violence in the Middle East springs from a mixture of ethnic, linguistic, religious and economic problems. Generally, then, violence is most likely to occur when regional difficulties are aggravated by other differences.

Table 2–4 indicates the extent to which violence is brought about by regional differences within a nation. Separatist violence is an indication that differences have reached the point where at least one group views them as irreconcilable and wishes to divorce itself completely from opposing groups. There are, of course, many other examples of violence associated with regional problems.

Political Stability

When *any* type of conflict becomes violent it will have a general tendency to disrupt the society in which it occurs. One possible result of such violence is political instability.

Table 5–2 is taken from a study which ranked nations according to their political stability between the years 1955 and 1961. A country ranked at *zero* would be very stable, whereas a country ranked at *six* would be highly unstable. Within each category the nations are ranked from least to most stable; i.e., Norway is the most unstable nation in column one. From the chart it is evident that the general tendency among nations during this period was toward instability. Of course, we would need additional information to give us a more complete picture. One interesting possibility would be to do the same study at different points in time in order to plot the changing levels of stability for individual nations.

International Conflict

At times racial, religious, and economic causes have led to group violence at the international level. At this plane the population of an entire nation is generally viewed as a group. Examples are numerous. The conflict between India and Pakistan is ethnic, religious, and economic. That between the Soviet Union and China is economic, philosophical, and perhaps racial. The continual conflict between the United States and many of its Latin

Table 5-2. Political Stability

0 (Stability)	1	2	3	4	5	6 (Instability)
New Zealand	Norway Netherlands Cambodia Sweden Saudi Arabia Iceland Philippines Luxembourg	W. Germany Czechoslovakia Finland Romania Ireland Costa Rica	Tunisia Great Britain Portugal Uruguay Israel Canada United States Taiwan Libya Austria E. Germany Ethiopia Denmark Australia Switzerland	France U. of South Africa Haiti Poland Spain Dominican Rep. Iran Ceylon Japan Thailand Mexico Ghana Jordan Sudan Morocco Egypt Pakistan Italy Belgium Paraguay Soviet Union Nicaragua Chile Burma Yugoslavia Panama Ecuador China El Salvador Liberia Malaysia Albania Greece Bulgaria Afghanistan	India Argentina Korea Venezuela Turkey Lebanon Iraq Bolivia Syria Peru Guatemala Brazil Honduras Cyprus	Indonesia Cuba Colombia Laos Hungary

Source: I. K. Feierabend and R. L. Feierabend, "Aggressive Behavior Within Polities: 1948–1962," in James Davies, *When Men Revolt and Why* (New York: Free Press, 1971), p. 233.

American neighbors is essentially economic but has racial, ethnic, and linguistic overtones. Thus, types of group violence that have been described above can happen within a single nation (the economic and religious problems of Northern Ireland and racial problems in the United States), or between nations (the violence connected with the confrontations in the Middle East or Southeast Asia).

Conclusion

The five general sets of theories (deprivation, expectation, frustration, systemic, and group conflict) covered in these two chapters scan the major ideas about the causes of group violence in human society. Systemic and group conflict theories attempt to explain conflicts *between groups, or breakdowns in the systems within which groups must function*. Theories dealing with deprivation, expectation, and frustration, explain the reactions of the *individuals who make up the groups*. Both sets of theories offer only partial explanations. When combined, however, they make it easier for us to view and understand the subject of violence. This is not to say that we now have all the answers.

As we have said, an important reason for studying violence is that it is all around us; we cannot escape it. And it is only after we have achieved some degree of understanding of a problem and its causes that we can begin to work toward solving it or preventing the occurrence of those conditions which cause the problem to arise.

The next chapter provides a few examples in which violence is one solution to a problem, among a number of others. Some of the individual views presented suggest a full understanding of the general causes of violence, where others do not. Some of the people portrayed in the following pages have apparently decided that violence will solve their problems, while others seem to feel that it has never really solved anything. Many with this latter view see nonviolence as a way to resolve their problems.

The basic question is thus unresolved for societies as a whole, although many individuals or groups seem to have reached at least a temporary solution. For some, violence remains a real alternative for resolving problems. For others, violence is seen not as an alternative but rather as a cause for further violence.

Chapter 6

Violence: Attitudes and Actions

Introduction

This chapter is intended to apply some of what has been suggested earlier in the text. The following cases are taken from recent history and incorporate varying points of view on the uses of violence. A few of them date back more than a decade, but most have occurred within the past few years.

The cases under view in this chapter are grouped into four sections. The first provides examples of situations in which violence was used against the status quo. The second section concentrates on situations in which violence was used to preserve order and stability. The third relates to nonviolent alternatives for change. The final section includes a wide range of different ideas and actions relating in varying degrees to our concept of violence.

In all cases the same sorts of questions arise. What seems to be the cause of violence? In what circumstances are less violent or nonviolent strategies desirable and effective? In what circumstances is violence justified? What seems to determine whether violence is effective or ineffective?

Violence against the Status Quo

Much of the violence reported from around the world is directed against existing social or economic institutions, challenging governmental authority and social order. Riots, rebellions, revolts, and revolutions are the outgrowths of these challenges.

Depending on the situation, one's appraisal of the underlying reasons may range from justifiable to outrageous.

1. *Eldridge Cleaver*

In a collection of essays Cleaver agreed with Huey Newton (Black Panther Party Minister of Defense) that the only Black culture worth talking about was a revolutionary culture where political power grows out of a gun barrel. In Cleaver's words,

> That white America could produce the assassin of Dr. Martin Luther King is looked upon by black people . . . as a final repudiation by white America of any hope of reconciliation, of any hope of change by peaceful and nonviolent means. So that it becomes clear that the only way for black people in this country to get the things that they want—and the things that they have a right to and that they deserve—is to meet fire with fire.[1]

2. *Stokely Carmichael*

> We are on the move for our liberation. We're tired of trying to prove things to white people. We are tired of trying to explain to white people that we're not going to hurt them. We are concerned with getting the things we want, the things we have to have to be able to function. The question is, will white people overcome their racism and allow for that to happen in this country? If not, we have no choice but to say very clearly, "Move on over, or we're going to move on over you."[2]

3. *Labor Unrest in Japan*

Since approximately 1970 the official policy of all major Japanese unions has been one of peaceful challenge to the economic system. However, there are individuals and factions within the labor unions who do not necessarily agree with the nonmilitant approach, as indicated by the following report from the *Japan Times*.

---

[1] Eldridge Cleaver, *Post-Prison Writings and Speeches* (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 74.

[2] Stokely Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks* (New York: Random House, 1965), p. 60.

> A member [Michiaki Yamamura] of the National Railways Workers' Union [Kokuro] was arrested Thursday for having alleged instigated a riot at the Keihin-Tohoku Line's Kamaguchi Station on April 24 [1973].
>
> On the night of the incident about 1,300 passengers crowded the platforms . . . waiting for trains that never arrived because of unionists' work-to-rule slowdown.
>
> Many impatient passengers, apparently instigated by Yamamura and others, smashed windows of railway offices and committed other acts of vandalism. . . .[3]

4. *Ernesto "Che" Guevara*

Guevara, one of the leaders of the Cuban revolution, called for violent political revolution in Latin America. He stated that the oppressed peoples need only a revoutionary leadership to overcome their rulers and the "Yankee imperialists." In his words,

> We predicted that the [revolutionary] war would involve all of Latin America. This means it will also be prolonged. There will be many fronts, and it will cost much blood and countless lives over a long period. But there is something further. The phenomena of the polarization of forces occurring in the Americas—and the clear division that will be established between the exploiters and the exploited in future revolutionary wars—mean that, when seizure of power by people's armed vanguard takes place, the country, or countries, that achieve this will have liquidated the imperialists. . . . The first stage of the socialist revolution will have crystalized.[4]

5. *Karin Ashley*

The Students for a Democratic Society are a leftist-action group among student organizations in America. From their perspective, the need for a social revolution in America entails mixing different issues, struggles, and groups. In their words,

> We must build a movement oriented toward power. Revolution is a power struggle, and we must develop that under-

---

[3] *Japan Times* #26,729, May 25, 1973, p. 3.

[4] John Gerassi (ed.), *Venceremos! The Speeches and Writings of Ernesto Che Guevara* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), p. 278.

> standing among people from the beginning. Pooling our resources area-wide and city-wide really does increase our power in particular fights. . . . The RYM (Revolutionary Youth Movement) must also lead to the effective organization needed to survive and create another battlefield of the revolution. . . . The most important task for us toward making the revolution . . . is the creation of a mass revolutionary movement, without which a clandestine revolutionary party will be impossible.[5]

6. *Bernardine Dohrn*

The Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society is a violent-action wing of the movement. The majority of the Weatherman leaders in America now live "underground" in order to carry out a guerrilla-type struggle. In the words of Bernardine Dohrn, spokesman for the faction,

> All over the world, people fighting Amerikan imperialism look to Amerika's youth to use our strategic position behind enemy lines to join forces in the destruction of the empire. . . . We've known that our job is to lead white kids into armed revolution. . . . Tens of thousands have learned that protest and marches don't do it. Revolutionary violence is the only way. . . . Now we are adopting the classic guerrilla strategy of the Viet Cong and the urban guerrilla strategy of the Tupamaros [of Uruguay] to our own situation here in the most technically advanced country in the world. . . . We will never live peaceably under this system.[6]

7. *The Struggle for Women's Rights*

Robin Morgan, champion of the women's rights movement, states her feelings about the use of violence as follows: "Women are the real left. . . . We are using violence with a fury older and potentially greater than any force in history, and this time we will be free or no-one will survive. Power to all the people or to none. All the way down, this time.[7]

---

[5] K. Ashley, et al., "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," in John and Susan Erlich (eds.), *Student Power, Participation and Revolution* (New York: Association Press, 1970), pp. 198–200.

[6] Bernardine Dohrn, "Communique #1 from the Weatherman Underground," in D. Horowitz, M. Lerner, and C. Pyes (eds.), *Counterculture and Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1972), p. 64.

8. *Revolution and Change in Latin America*

While it may seem ironic, two archbishops of the Catholic Church in Latin America have argued that violence may become necessary in their countries if the oppressed peoples are not provided with a better lot in life. Dom Helder Camara of poverty-stricken northeast Brazil favors nonviolent (Christian) means to improve the welfare of his people but asserts that they may resort to violent action if other solutions fail. According to Helder Camara,

> The most evident political factor on our continent [South America] is the absence of popular participation in decision-making. This means, in other words, that the people do not share in the political process. . . . This fact would seem to demand a search for alternative models which can courageously promote real changes in the structures of production and in the structure of power.[8]

The Catholic Archbishop of Managua, Nicaragua, also feels that violence may be in keeping with the Christian tradition where circumstances make a nonviolent course of action impossible:

> It is easy to condemn violence, but it is necessary to know how to recognize it in all its dimensions and to condemn it on all its terrains. The initiative for violence does not generally come from the poor and oppressed. It comes much more from those who exercise power and dispose of force in order to serve a firmly established order. The revolution appears inevitable and even necessary for the liberation of the masses.
>
> The revolutionary ferment, guerrilla activity . . . is only the incoercible cry of a people who are taking cognizance of their situation and seek to break the structures which imprison them. . . . Sincere men, convinced Chris-

---

[7] Robin Morgan, *Rat Subterranean News*, February 6, 1970, p. 2.

[8] Helder Camara, *Race Against Time* (London: Sheed and Ward Ltd., 1971), pp. 103–104.

tians, should realize that their duty is to cooperate with this current of change and not to try to impede it.[9]

9. *Salvador Allende*

Salvador Allende was the President of Chile, the first Marxist in the Americas to hold such a high elective office. Allende for many years set forth the view that the way to achieve power and political change in Chile, and many other Latin American countries, was through the ballot box. In his words,

> The recent triumph [his election] indicates to the world that Marxism does not triumph only by the gun, through violent revolution. We have proven that nonviolent political organization and action can achieve political power. We will prove that this political power, once gained, can be used to achieve peaceful political change of a socialist nature.[10]

Violence for the Preservation of Order and Stability

Governments generally reserve for themselves the responsibility and capability for maintaining social control and political stability. Force may be used to reestablish order or to compel adherence to an unpopular law. Such agencies of the government as the police or the military may execute the government's orders either with justice or with malice and brutality. In the following section are a number of cases where the government applied pressure to a group of people. In each case ask yourself: Is this an example of violence? Was this use of force justified? What realistic alternative responses were possible?

10. *Eisenhower Address on Little Rock Crisis*

> For a few minutes this evening, I should like to speak to you about the serious situation that has arisen in Little Rock. To make this talk I have come to the President's Office in the White House.

---

[9] "Guerrillas Supported," *Commonweal*, October 13, 1972, p. 26.

[10] Radio and television address of President Salvador Allende, Santiago, Chile, October 25, 1970. In September 1973, the Allende regime was overthrown by a right-wing military coup and President Allende either was shot by army troops or committed suicide. Chile is now ruled by a military *junta*.

I could have spoken from Rhode Island where I have been staying recently. But I felt that, in speaking from the house of Lincoln, of Jackson and of Wilson, my words would better convey both the sadness I feel in the action I was compelled today to make, and the firmness with which I intend to pursue this course until the orders of the Federal Court at Little Rock can be executed without unlawful interference.

In that city, under the leadership of demagogic extremists, disorderly mobs have deliberately prevented the carrying-out of proper orders from a Federal Court. Local authorities have not eliminated that violent opposition. And under the law I yesterday issued a proclamation calling upon the mob to disperse.

This morning the mob again gathered in front of the Central High School of Little Rock, obviously for the purpose of again preventing the carrying-out of the court's order relating to the admission of Negro children to that school.

Whenever normal agencies prove inadequate to the task and it becomes necessary for the Executive Branch of the Federal Government to use its powers and authority to uphold Federal Courts, the President's responsibility is inescapable.

In accordance with that responsibility I have today issued an Executive Order directing the use of troops under Federal authority to aid in the execution of Federal law at Little Rock, Ark. This became necessary when my proclamation of yesterday was not observed and the obstruction of justice still continues.[11]

11. *Miniskirts Banned by Junta in Greece*

The new Government of Greece proscribed miniskirts for girls and long hair for boys today and called for regular church attendance by all youths.

The emphasis on austere morality, in a country where moral laxity is not evident in combination with the general right-wing trend of the military junta that seized power last Friday, reminded Greeks of the Fascist-style dictatorship of Gen. John Metaxas, who governed Greece from 1936 to 1940.

---

[11] Quoted directly from *The New York Times*, September 25, 1957, p. 14.

The Interior Minister, Brig. Stylianos Patakos, called on the Education Ministry to instruct school principals to tell their pupils to go to confession and communion next Sunday, the Eastern Orthodox Easter, and to attend Sunday masses throughout the year. . . .

The call for maximum skirts and minimum hair is also to be issued by school principals as soon as the Education Ministry has drafted the order that the Interior Ministry demanded. Greeks said that not since the days of General Metaxas, when students had to wear regulation uniforms and caps, have there been prescribed standards of dress.

Principals will also be instructed to tell their charges to stay away from pinball machines and similar entertainments.

In its policy declaration Saturday, the Government of Premier Constantine V. Kollias characterized youth, "devoted to the national ideals, as the golden hope of our nation." It promised to make of education and youth "the No. 1 target of the Government." [13]

12. *The Unwanted*

"The night before my announcement a dream came to me that the Asian problem was becoming extremely explosive, and that God was directing [illegible] to act immediately to save the situation." Thus, last week Uganda's mercurial President, General Idi ("Big Daddy") Amin, explained his draconian edict: some 60,000 Asians—principally those from the Indian subcontinent who hold British passports—must quit the country within 90 days.

The expulsion order came as no great surprise to Uganda's Asians, long the target of Amin's criticism as he sought to win support by stirring up antagonism against them among the country's 9.4 million blacks. Now he charges that the Asians were "economic saboteurs," engaged in smuggling, black marketeering, "encouraging corruption," running monopolies and currency frauds. "They only milked the cow; they did not feed it," he said. He decreed that businesses belonging to the expelled Asians will be turned over to Uganda's black citizens. Any Asians who stay beyond the deadline, Amin said onimously, would "be sitting in the fire."

---

[13] Quoted directly from Henry Kamm, "Miniskirts Banned by Junta in Greece," *The New York Times*, April 25, 1967, p. 1.

Amin's rather wild-eyed proclamation was the latest explosion of enmity between East Africa's blacks and Asian immigrants, many of whom were similarly driven out of Kenya in 1967. Large numbers of Asians arrived in East Africa at the turn of the century to help build a railway inland from the port of Mombasa. By the time Uganda was granted independence by the British in 1962, the Asians, who were better educated and more enterprising than the majority of the Africans with whom they dealt, ran four out of five businesses in the country, and had monopolized the important coffee and cotton industries. Black Ugandans resented both the Asians' economic dominance and their social exclusiveness. Nonetheless, at least 23,000 of the estimated 90,000 Asians in Uganda in 1962 applied for Ugandan citizenship. Most of the rest retained their British passports.

Under British prodding, Amin softened his stand somewhat: physicians, dentists, lawyers, teachers and some technicians will be allowed to stay on in Uganda. For the rest, there is no place where they can expect a welcome. India will only take back Asians holding Indian passports. The British use a technique called "shuttlecocking" to keep unwanted Asians out, bouncing those who exceed the quota right back on planes the minute they land. Increasingly, European countries resent having rejected Asians dumped on them; as British-passport holders they are Britain's responsibility. Brussels police announced last week that any Asians sent back to Brussels after being refused entry to Britain would be returned immediately to a British airport.[13]

13. *Executive Order 9066*

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, an order authorizing the Secretary of War to create camps for confining Japanese-Americans for the duration of the Second World War. Within only a few months tens of thousands of Americans of Japanese ancestry—many of whom had been born in the United States and were therefore American citizens—were relocated to camps in various parts of the country. Public reaction of Americans at the time included the following:[14]

---

[13] *Time*, August 21, 1972, pp. 22-23. Reprinted by permission from TIME, The Weekly Newsmagazine; Copyright Time Inc.

> I'm for catching every Japanese in America, Alaska and Hawaii now and putting them in concentration camps. . . . Damn them! Let's get rid of them now!
>
> —Congressman John Rankin (February 19, 1942, *The Congressional Record*)

> Herd 'em up, pack 'em off and give them the inside room of the badlands. Let 'em be pinched, hurt, hungry and dead up against it.
>
> —Henry McLemne, *San Francisco Examiner*, January 29, 1942

> We're charged with wanting to get rid of the Japs for selfish reasons. We might as well be honest. We do. It's a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the brown one. They came into this valley to work and they stayed to take over.
>
> —Austin Anson, Managing Secretary, Grooves-Shippee Vegetable Association of Central California, from *The Saturday Evening Post*, May 9, 1942

Maisie and Richard Conrat have summarized the situation as follows:

> The Japanese Americans . . . suffered almost incalculable economic losses as a result of relocation. Forced to settle their affairs in a matter of days or weeks between notification and actual evacuation, they fell victim to financial opportunists who bought their property and possessions at prices far below market value. The real and personal property not immediately sold was either stored or left in the hands of trustees, where it was often stolen, vandalized, or sold through legal chicanery for next to nothing. The government began escheatment proceedings against the farmland of many evacuees, who could not adequately fight back from their distant relocation centers. Ultimately the government paid $38,474,140 in property claims to Japanese Americans. This figure is generally conceded to be less

---

[14] These quotes are taken from Maisie and Richard Conrat, *Executive Order 9066: The Internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans* (Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, 1972), pp. 44, 52, 85.

than 10% of the actual value of their property, which was estimated in 1942 by the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco to total $400,000,000. But figures are largely meaningless, because it is impossible to evaluate the wages, income, interest, and appreciation that the evacuees lost during their incarceration.

Even as the internees lived behind barbed wire, an ironic footnote was being written by young Japanese American men in Europe and the Pacific. Japanese American soldiers served hazardous duty with specialized units like Merrill's Marauders, while others, serving as interpreters, provided probably the most important link in American Intelligence. The 442nd Combat Team, an all-Japanese American unit fighting in Italy and France, emerged with more casualties and more decorations than any other unit of comparable size and length of service in the Army's history. In all, more than 25,000 Japanese Americans served—and many died—in the armed forces during the war.

But the tragedy of the relocation was more than squalid internment camps, lost property, and sons dead and maimed. Japanese Americans suffered the psychological stress of confinement, the embarrassment and humiliation of being regarded as traitors to their country, and the inescapable fear that their ancestry rather than their actions would always determine how they would be treated. The relocation confronted other Americans with the fact that they had paid only lip service to a cherished tradition of equality and constitutional protection—and left them with a shame that no amount of rationalization or studied indifference could diminish.[15]

14. *The Sharpeville Massacre*

In March 1960, an event which has since come to be known as the "Sharpeville Massacre" occurred in the Union of South Africa. The incident, in which about 80 Africans were killed and over 200 wounded, originated with Black dissatisfaction over the legal requirement that all Blacks carry passbooks. The passbook, which identified its owner by name, place of birth, tribal affiliation, and any arrest record, was to be carried at all times. Blacks naturally hated the passbook system and thus responded to a call by an African militant organization, the Pan-African Congress, that they go unarmed and in groups to local police stations and demand to be arrested for refusing to carry passes. In Evat, 70,000 Africans went to the police station; in Orlado, 20,000 turned out; while in Sharpeville, 20,000 more appeared. There, 130 police reinforcements and 4 armored cars were rushed to the scene, while planes buzzed the crowd to force it to disperse. Africans responded by throwing stones at the police. When police tried to seize an African, the crowd advanced toward them, and the police Commander ordered his men to fire.

---

[15] Conrat, pp. 22–23.

According to the Commander, "My car was struck by a stone. If they do these things, they must learn their lesson the hard way." Responding to a worldwide outcry against its policies of separation of the races and discrimination against Blacks, not to mention the violence of the Sharpeville incident, the government of South Africa claimed that the groups which had gathered had been "instruments in the spread of Communism," and that disturbances "must be terminated by such measures as may be necessary." In addition, it claimed that:

> The point at issue is not whether there is agreement or disagreement with any particular law. The point at issue is that the law must be enforced despite disagreement, and no Government worthy of the name could abdicate from or share its responsibility in such enforcement. If such abdication or sharing does take place, chaos will undoubtedly result and rule by the mob will take the place of rule by the Government.
>
> The Government itself is the arbiter of the measures it deems necessary to secure obedience to the law. Interference from any source whatsoever in this prime responsibility of any sovereign government cannot be countenanced. Indeed, any such interference, or attempt at interference, could only have a most deleterious effect on the observance of the rule of law—and this applies not only to South Africa.[16]

15. *Tougher on Jews*

> In the wake of last week's announcement that the U.S. and the Soviet Union had signed a historic trade agreement . . . word came from Moscow of another apparent break-

---

[16] Based on information from *Time*, April 4, 1960, p. 19; and *U.S. News and World Report*, April 18, 1960, p. 88.

through: 139 Jewish families were given permission to emigrate to Israel without paying the exorbitant "education tax" that has been required in recent months. It all seemed part of the same deal. Under pressure from American Jews, the U.S. Senate had warned that it would refuse to ratify the trade pact unless the emigration tax was rescinded—and the Soviets appeared to have got the message. But U.S. officials and Jewish leaders draw a far different picture. Not only is Soviet policy on Jewish emigration unchanged, they charge, but the repression of Jews in Russia actually seems to be intensifying.

Indeed, the 139 families seemed an exception to the rule. The barriers were lifted for this group, Jewish leaders contended, as a gesture to placate world opinion and to assure ratification of the U.S.-Soviet trade accord, which the Russians desperately want. It was also, in the words of one Israeli official, "the Kremlin's contribution to President Nixon's re-election campaign. The Russians hope their action will provide good pre-election publicity for Mr. Nixon." The real picture, according to this theory, is that the emigration tax is still being applied, albeit selectively. Soviet authorities are still charging would-be emigrants as much as $64,000 to leave Russia. . . .

Worse yet, harassment of Jews seems to be on the upswing. At a clandestine press conference in Moscow last week, ten Jewish intellectuals reported that police recently invaded the apartments of twenty Jews searching for "parasites"—people who do not work. "Yet we cannot get jobs," said physicist Viktor Polsky, "because we have been fired for trying to go to Israel." During a recent Jewish holiday, worshipers at Moscow's central synagogue were allegedly pushed around by police. There are rumors of "hooligans" attacking Jews with tacit police approval.[17]

16. *The Biggest Bust*

Antiwar militants mounted a display of aggressive civil disruption in Washington's streets that strained the city's order, and the authorities responded with a wave of indiscriminate arrests and quasi-legal detention that warped the rule of law.

---

[17] *Newsweek*, October 30, 1972, p. 62. Copyright 1972 by Newsweek, Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission.

The result was the largest mass arrest in the nation's history: 7,200 in a single day and a total of 13,400 during four days of gradually de-escalating confrontation. . . .

The week's action was not, on the whole, violent or even terribly angry. . . . There was little serious vandalism by the protestors and little real brutality by the cops. In contrast to the Weatherman "Days of Rage" or the 1968 Chicago "police riot," the hard feelings this time were caused—on both sides—by a sense of rights violated, not damage wrought. . . . Supporters of the Administration policy argued that no government could countenance a threat—even an improbable one—to the ongoing life of its Capital. Under the circumstances, they maintained, the use of mass-arrest procedures did more good than real harm and was probably the only way to contain the demonstrators as they rampaged through the streets. But even in official ranks, there were some doubts whether order had not been purchased at too high a cost to the law. "We were doing pretty damned well until Monday morning," groused one Administration man. "Then those guys over at Justice screwed up the whole operation. It was overkill. Who needed those mass sweeps and mass arrests? Things like that have got to worry anyone with any sensitivity about the law."

There was plenty of sensitivity about order. The mere idea of protestors trying to shut down the Capital infuriated most citizens, especially in Washington itself.[18]

Nonviolent Action for Change

There has emerged over the past decade a growing interest here and in other countries in devising ways to bring about important political, social, or economic changes through nonviolent direct action movements. These kinds of efforts are not new, but what is noteworthy is the momentum that these "peace movements" have achieved in recent years. As you read these position statements and cases, keep in mind the following questions.

Is "passive resistance" the same as "nonviolent action?" Is there a distinction between these concepts and strategies?

Can nonviolent strategies for change be effective against the near-monopoly of force commanded by most governments? In what circumstances?

---

[18] *Newsweek*, May 17, 1971, p. 24. Copyright 1971 by Newsweek, Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission.

What assumptions about power and what value priorities do you think people committed to nonviolent direct action hold?

Which mass movements for nonviolent change can be successful in addressing some of the ills of society? Why and how?

17. *An Argument Opposing Violence*

The following selection is a statement by a pacifist group on the need for and practicality of nonviolent direct action for the purpose of bringing about desirable change.

> There is yet another kind of force besides violence and law, which can be used effectively to bring about changes in the behavior of individuals or groups. NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION IS ACTIVE RESISTANCE TO INJUSTICE, BY NONVIOLENT NON-COOPERATION WITH, OR BY OBSTRUCTION OF, THE PERPETRATION OF INJUSTICE. This force has been applied by groups in many times and cultures: by Quakers under Cromwell, Gandhi in India, South Africans seeking freedom from racial oppression, Negroes in the American South opposing segregation.
>
> This force is difficult to classify according to our previous definitions of kinds of force. It is force applied externally but its main object is to induce the development of internal consent to the desired change in behavior. Thus it is a sort of bridge between external and internal force. It contains elements of coercion in that it attempts to retrain the wrongdoer by obstructing him or withholding necessary cooperation. It may even inflict some injury on the wrongdoer (e.g., the economic injury inflicted on southern business-men by the bus and chain store boycotts). However, coercion, in the sense that it involves punishment or the threat of punishment, is incidental. The main purpose of nonviolent direct action is to force the wrongdoer to face the injustice of his behavior, to appeal to the good in him, and thus to eventually convert rather than to coerce him. Thus it can be both coercion and persuasion. During the process of nonviolent resistance to injustice, the user of this force, whenever possible, accepts suffering willingly rather than inflicting it. He does this to demonstrate his good will towards the wrongdoer as well as his firm intention to resist the wrong which is being done.
>
> Nonviolent resistance is not based on the desire for victory over the perpetrator of injustice, or a desire to force

him into the place of the present underdog. It aims at equality and justice which are good for the oppressor as well as for the oppressed. It is based on the belief that injustice harms both the oppressor and the oppressed by destroying their self-respect as well as their mutual respect. Nonviolent direct action is, therefore, a positive expression of love, since its object is to achieve what is advantageous for all, and it assumes innate goodness in the wrongdoer to which an appeal can be effectively directed.

Nonviolent direct action is a form of force theoretically available for use in international as well as interpersonal and intergroup relations. It was used with spectacular success by colonial India to throw off British rule. But, so far, nonviolent resistance has been used only by groups relatively deprived of arms who were therefore unable successfully to offer violent resistance to their oppressors.

Even the most heavily armed now find themselves in a similar situation since resort to violence has become wholly impractical.[19]

18. *Pacifists Indicted on Draft-Card Burning Charge*

Four young pacifists were indicted yesterday on charges of burning their draft cards at a rally protesting United States military involvement in Vietnam.

Each was accused of violating a Federal statute enacted last summer that makes it a felony to mutilate a draft card. Passage of the bill followed a wave of protests by young people over the conduct of the war in Vietnam.

The New York Civil Liberties Union charged that the Government action yesterday violated the men's right of free speech.

An Assistant United States Attorney said the indicted men would not be arrested but would be asked to appear in court on January 4.

Two other youths have been indicted, in New York and Iowa, for draft card burning, but neither has yet been tried.

The four indicted yesterday burned draft documents on Nov. 6 atop a platform set up in Union Square, scene of left-wing rallies for more than half a century. If convicted they face sentences of up to five years and fines of up to $10,000

---

[19] Quoted directly from A Working Party of Friends Peace Committee, *The Use of Force in International Affairs* (Philadelphia, 1961), pp. 11–12.

—the same penalty they would have risked if they had simply refused to carry their cards.[20]

19. *The Overthrow of General Martinez* [21]

In late April and early May 1944, one of the most ruthless of the Latin American dictators found his mighty power dissolved by a massive nonviolent civilian insurrection. The *Inter-American* reported at the time:

> After thirteen bloody years, General Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez was forced out of the Presidency of El Salvador on May 9 by a force which he hardly believed existed: the will of the people.
>
> It seemed that the only will which *salvadorenos* knew was that of their master. Occasionally a few trouble makers stirred up a little discontent here and there. But it never grew serious, for the machine-guns took care of it nicely.
>
> After the [violent] revolt of early April had been crushed, Hernandez started his usual man-hunt. Anyone suspected of even the remotest connection with the revolt was hunted down and shot or jailed. Many were tortured in an effort to get the names of others. All newspapers except Hernandez' mouthpiece, *Diario Nuevo*, were closed.
>
> Everything was calm, said the official reports. Fifty-three had been killed in the revolution, and another score had been executed for complicity. But the reports brought out by refugees counted the executed in the thousands, and the number of imprisoned in still more thousands.
>
> Colonel Tito Calvo, actual leader of the attempt, was dead. Dr. Arturo Romero, beloved San Salvador teacher, believed to have encouraged Calvo, was in jail, wounded and under sentence of death.
>
> On April 24, the country's students printed and distributed a leaflet which called for a general strike and gave specific directions.

---

[20] Quoted directly from Eric Pace, "Four Pacifists Are Indicted Here on Draft-Card Burning Charge," *The New York Times*, December 22, 1965, p. 1.

[21] Quoted directly from Gene Sharp, *Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives* (Boston, Mass.: Porter Sargent, 1970), pp. 12–14.

This leaflet, reported by *Newsweek*, was titled: "Decree for a general strike including hospitals, courts, and public works." Part of the text read:

> The basis of the strike shall be general passive resistance, noncooperation with the government, the wearing of mourning, the unity of all classes, the prohibition of fiestas.
>
> By showing the tyrant the abyss between him and the people, by isolating him completely, we shall cause his downfall. Boycott the movies, the newspapers, the national lottery. Pay no taxes. Abandon government jobs. Leave them unfilled. Pray daily for the souls of the massacred. The Archbishop has been humiliated.

The recommendations were followed, the *Inter-American* account continues:

> Acting on their own instructions, high school and university students walked out. Within a week the country was paralyzed. Postal and government offices were vacant, stores were closed, garbage piled up in the streets; trains, streetcars and buses stopped running. Hospitals were deserted by doctors, and the courts by lawyers and judges. Women wore mourning in the streets, and by May 6, the banks and factories shut down.
>
> The bewildered Hernandez, whose practice was to tell his Ministers what to do, now asked for their advice. Resign, said the Cabinet. Meekly, the President resigned, and the Constituent Assembly appointed the stocky, sixty-two-year-old Minister of Defense, General Andres I. Menendez to the Presidency *pro tem*. General Menendez is not thought to be a front man for Hernandez, and is expected to call a general election soon. He allowed the press to resume operation and ordered amnesty for all political refugees.
>
> Only after their erstwhile dictator had left for Guatemala would *salvadorenos* go back to work. Few men have seen their permanent departure hailed with such joy. In Guatemala City, Hernandez said he would become a farmer. "I bear no ill will to anyone," he said forgivingly.

20. *Dr. Martin Luther King*

In his April 16, 1963, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," Dr. King said that he favored nonviolent direct action, which sought to create crisis and foster tension so that community leaders would be forced to negotiate with Blacks. Nonviolent actions, such as sit-ins and marches, would be used to dramatize issues that people of conscience could no longer ignore. Constructive, nonviolent tension would lead to a dialogue between the races. In Dr. King's words,

> Massive civil disobedience [nonviolent direct action] is a strategy for social change which is . . . forceful. . . . In the past ten years, nonviolent civil disobedience has made a great deal of history, especially in the southern United States. When we and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference went to Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963, we had decided to take action on the matter of integrated public accomodations. We went knowing that the Civil Rights Commission had written powerful documents calling for change, calling for the very rights we were demanding. But nobody did anything about the Commission's report. Nothing was done until we acted on these very issues, and demonstrated before the court of world opinion the urgent need for change. It was the same story with voting rights. The Civil Rights Commission, three years before we went to Selma, had recommended the changes we started marching for, but nothing was done until, in 1965, we created a crisis the nation couldn't ignore. Without violence, we totally disrupted the system, the life style of Birmingham, and then of Selma, with their unjust and unconstitutional laws. . . . The result on the national scene was the Civil Rights Bill and the Voting Rights Act, as President and Congress responded to the drama and the creative tension generated by carefully planned demonstrations. . . .
>
> The question that now divides the people who want radically to change the situation is: can a program of nonviolence—even if it envisions massive civil disobedience—realistically expect to deal with such an enormous, entrenched evil? [22]

---

[22] Martin Luther King, *The Trumpet of Conscience* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), pp. 54–55.

21. César Chávez

César Chávez, the son of a migrant farm worker, has for over ten years been the guiding force of *La Causa* and the head of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. In his words,

> Nonviolence can only be used by those whose cause is strong. . . . What's difficult is to be nonviolent in the cause, in the battle for social justice; knowing what violence can be done to ourselves, knowing—and this is even more difficult—what violence can be done to our family and brothers and our cause. . . . Nonviolence is the only weapon that is compassionate and recognizes each man's value. . . . It may be a long time before there is no threat of violence to our workers on the picket line, no intimidation by the growers [of California grapes], no allowing strike breakers to cross the border [between the U.S. and Mexico].
>
> But we will win, we *are* winning, because ours is a revolution of mind and heart, not only of economics.[23]

22. George Meany

George Meany is the president of the AFL-CIO, one of the largest labor organizations in the United States. It is his view that:

> Our members are basically Americans. They basically believe in the American system and maybe they have a greater stake in the system now than they had 15 or 20 years ago because under the system and under our trade-union policy they have become middle class. . . . So this makes the strike much less desirable as a weapon. Naturally we wouldn't want to give it up as a weapon but I can say to you quite frankly that more and more people in the trade-union movement—I mean at the highest levels—are thinking of other ways to advance without the use of the strike weapon.
>
> Voluntary arbitration, for instance.[24]

---

[23] "Nonviolence Still Works," Interview by *Look* with César Chávez. *Look*, Vol. 33, No. 7, April 1, 1969, pp. 52–57.

[24] "George Meany Talks About Strikes, Politics, the Future," Interview by *U.S. News & World Report* with George Meany. *U.S. News & World Report*, Vol. 69, No. 10, September 7, 1970, p. 59.

23. *Chile's Strike Against Allende*

In most other Latin American republics, the sight is common enough: helmeted troops patrolling the streets of the capital, firing tear-gas grenades at groups of demonstrators and charging the mobs with Plexiglas shields. But not in Chile, where the notion of peaceful, democratic protest has reigned for nearly a century. Not, that is, until last week, when thousands of Chileans took to the streets in the latest and most serious public challenge yet to President Salvador Allende Gossens. "We are on the verge of civil war," a grim-faced Allende warned, and although that clearly sounded like Presidential hyperbole, there was no denying that Allende faced a severe crisis. From Arica in the desert north to Punta Arenas in the Antarctic south, Chile's middle classes were crying *Basta!* (enough) to their President's Marxist policies.

The current round of trouble began with a government proposal to set up a state trucking firm in the isolated southern city of Aysen. Fearing that such a step might herald the nationalization of their entire industry, Chile's truckers walked off the job. Allende's reaction was swift. He declared a state of emergency, placed 21 of the nation's 25 provinces under military control and arrested many of the truckers. But the truckers' plight struck a remarkably responsive chord with other Chileans. Squeezed to the wall by inflation (which has soared almost 100 percent this year) and by severe food shortages, Chile's shopkeepers and office workers fought back. The steel screens on some 80 percent of Santiago's shops clanked shut, and by the end of the week only a handful of food stores, pharmacies and gasoline stations remained open for business. Despite the efforts of the armed forces, demonstrators continued to clog the city's sidewalks, many of them breaking into raucous chants of "Chile is and always will be a free country." [25]

Other Ways of Looking at Violence

This final section offers a variety of cases. Some are quite similar to those in the previous sections. But many of them are quite different. In what ways? Do these cases contribute to an expansion of our categories or our definition of violence? How?

---

[25] *Newsweek*, October 30, 1972, pp. 61-62. Copyright 1972 by Newsweek, Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission.

24. Is Abortion Murder?

Whether or not abortion is a violent act has recently become a subject of hot debate in the United States. Even though the Supreme Court has ruled that abortion is legal, the controversy has not subsided. For those who argue that a human fetus is a living person from the moment of conception, abortion is an outright act of murder. According to one Houston, Texas, obstetrician, abortion "is nothing but homicide."[26] A psychiatrist claims that "The fetus is not a gelatinous mass but a rapidly developing human being."[26] In an extremely emotional article which opposes the right of any woman to have an abortion on demand, Richard Smith argues that:

> All other human life receives legal protection. So far at least, we do not have minimum standards that life must meet. We protect the sick and the deformed from casual slaughter, although it might be argued that they have a far less human future before them than does a healthy fetus. Indeed, we even provide protection for *dead* human bodies. It is illegal to dig up and destroy dead bodies. Cannibalism is not something done "on demand." Yet the fetus is disposed of in abortion as though it were cancer or excrement. If we safeguard the dignity of human flesh even in a dead body, a body without a future, how much more should we care for an unborn child, a child in whom a human future surges![27]

On the other side, however, people argue that abortion is the right of every woman and that it is not equivalent to murder—that a human life begins at the moment of *birth,* not at the moment of *conception*. Reverence for life means that we must be concerned "for the quality as well as the quantity of human life," according to one man.[28] To force women to raise unwanted children which they cannot afford to care for necessarily means that those children who are already alive will suffer. In addition, reverence for life means reverence for the life of the mother.

---

[26] Quoted from "Abortion-Law Reform Is Inevitable—Even in Texas," *Christian Century,* May 5, 1971, p. 548.

[27] Richard Smith, "A Secular Case Against Abortion on Demand," *Commonweal,* Vol. XCV, No. 7 (November 12, 1971), p. 152.

[28] Paul Rahmeier, "Abortion and the Reverence for Life," *Christian Century,* May 5, 1971, p. 556.

While saying that abortion is not an "unqualified good," Paul Rahmeier does observe that "we recognize that there are situations in which women who are pregnant against their wishes should be permitted to terminate that pregnancy in the name of reverence for life. Simply put: Does the reverence for *fetal* life mean that we must insist on irreverently abusing the life of the would-not-be mother? I think not."[29]

25. *Violence between Unions*

The following news report covers a dispute in the grape-growing region of California in 1973.

> Teamsters union goons attacked a United Farm Workers Union picket line twice this morning in Coachella, Calif. The attacks were part of the escalating campaign of violence the Teamsters officialdom has ordered against the striking UFW. . . .
>
> The Teamsters now have an estimated 350 people in the area trying to break the strike. On Saturday morning, June 23, 200 of them mounted a bloody attack on a group of pickets. . . .
>
> Union leader César Chávez charged that the campaign of systematic violence by the Teamsters is designed to provoke the farm workers into a similar response. They calculate, he said, that this would create the public image of embattled rival unions, each engaged in violence and that this would cut into the effectiveness of the national boycott. . . .[30]

26. *Hershey Approves Draft as a Penalty*

> WASHINGTON, D.C., Dec. 21 (UPI)—Lieutenant Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, the draft director, stood firm today on plans to induct registrants who burn their cards or conduct sit-ins at local boards. But he said eligible persons would not lose deferments merely for demonstrating or stating their views.
>
> General Hershey affirmed his position in a letter to Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of New York who is

---

[29] Rahmeier, p. 560.

[30] Harry Ring, "Grape Strike Having Impact," in M. Waters (ed.), *The Militant*, Vol. 37, No. 26, July 26, 1973, p. 24.

chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. Mr. Celler, who made public the letter, protested the policy and accused General Hershey of "demeaning the draft act" and jeopardizing the honor of the armed forces.

Mr. Celler said that infringements of the draft law should be punished by arrest, indictment and trial. He said General Hershey's statement confirmed charges that the draft law was being used to punish and discourage political dissent.

"The draft was never intended to be used as a vehicle of castigation," Mr. Celler said. "I urge General Hershey and his staff to review this vexatious question before the draft law is further weakened in public acceptance and support." [31]

27. *An American Paratrooper*

When we'd go into a possible VC [Viet Cong] village and the elder said, "No VC, no mines," we'd say "Fine" and then push him along in front of us till we got out again. If he hesitated, we'd keep pushing him till he set off the first one.

Paratrooper, 101st Airborne
U.S. Army Hospital, Kishine, Japan [32]

28. *Voices of the Klan*

I don't hate niggers, man I don't—I don't. I don't associate with niggers. On the other hand, I don't associate with common white trash or Jews or Catholics if I can help it.

Robert Jones, Grand Dragon, North Carolina[33]

I got news for you niggers. We're on the move too. I don't believe in segregation. I believe in slavery.

Robert Creel, Grand Dragon, Alabama[33]

Well I've got a wife, five kids. I wasn't forced to go to school with niggers. I wasn't forced to eat with them. And I want them to have at least the right I had.

Klansman[33]

---

[31] *The New York Times*, December 22, 1965, p. 3.

[32] Quoted from Ronald J. Glasser, *365 Days* (New York: Bantam Books, 1972), p. 75.

[33] Quoted in David Lowe, *Ku Klux Klan—The Invisible Empire* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1967), pp. 49, 94, 51.

Chapter 7

Violence: Possibilities or Probabilities?

Introduction

In this chapter is a series of scenarios set a quarter of a century in the future—easily within the span of your lifetime. Each takes one aspect of today's reality and projects it forward to present one possible view of tomorrow's reality. The case studies of Chapter 1 and the historical materials presented in Chapters 2 and 3 provide a basis for sensing the degree to which violence is part of our own world today. The theories presented in Chapters 4 and 5 offer some tools for uncovering the causes of violence in the world and suggest how difficult its total elimination may be. Finally, the opposing points of view presented in Chapter 6 should indicate that violence and its causes are viewed differently by different individuals and groups. These opposing views suggest additional difficulties in eliminating violence as an aspect of human behavior. They also indicate trends of thought and action which could lead toward what we present here as futuristic scenarios.

These scenarios represent situations that could be logical extensions of or responses to violence and its causes in the world today. Analyzing the case studies and historical background material, and grappling with the contending theories and opposing views, can all lead to a better understanding of what violence is, what forms it takes, and why it happens. Keep the following questions in mind while reading each scenario.

Is this scenario a logical extension of a current situation? If so, why and how? What changes would you make in the scenario to make it more logically consistent? How would you categorize the kind of violence that is depicted? Is violence depicted as justifiable? Can you support that view in this case? Why or why not?

Which theory of violence best explains what occurs in the scenario? How would you complete the "incomplete" scenarios? Can you think of any nonviolent tactics that, if introduced into a particular scenario, would affect the outcome dramatically? Can you construct a scenario that reflects your thoughts about the causes of violence and how conflicts can be de-escalated before they become violent?

The Second Revolution [1]

WASHINGTON, D.C., A.D. 2008. At 10:30 A.M. on Sunday, May 11, it was announced on all radio and television networks that the President of the United States has been placed under house arrest along with two members of his Cabinet. It was further announced that two other Cabinet members, the Attorney General, the Director of the National Police, and a number of local and state government officials have been assassinated. At this historic point in American history the following manifesto has been issued, a statement which some people are already referring to as the Second Declaration of Independence.

A Manifesto of the Afro-American Communities of the United States

1. The Afro-American communities of the United States of America, through their agents, the Afro-American Army Corps, hereby declare a state of military occupation throughout the United States of America.
2. All American citizens are ordered to desist from violence and to carry out their daily routines in a peaceful manner. All present laws remain in force and all law-enforcement agencies at the local level are enjoined to protect the public good. Resistance of any nature, from any source, to this occupation program will be immediately and forcefully suppressed.
3. A provisional federal government has been appointed by the occupation forces to administer the reconstitution of the

---

[1] This scenario is based upon the novel *Revolt* by Don Pendleton.

American nation. All authority at the level of state government has been disbanded. City and county authorities remain intact and are enjoined to continue their functions and to protect the public good.

4. Early formation of active and free political parties is encouraged. Platforms of prospective parties must be presented to the provisional government in Washington by June 1, 2008. No more than three and no less than two such political parties shall be legalized by the the provisional government. Party conventions shall be held between June 20th and July 15th. National elections for the purpose of establishing a new federal structure and government for the United States of America will be held on September 1, 2008.
5. Afro-Americans shall not participate in either the provisional government or the formation of political parties. The citizens of the United States are reminded that the Blacks of the United States have been specifically relieved of all such rights by the People of the United States. The military occupation shall remain in force, however, until full rights of citizenship have been restored to the Afro-Americans by the citizens of the United States. The restoration of the rights of citizenship are to be guaranteed through unalterable constitutional provisions.
6. The Afro-American Army Corps undertakes full responsibility for the military defense of the United States of America during this period.
7. All Americans, both white and black, are urged to end the hatreds of yesterday and to move immediately into a future which holds out the possibility of a better tomorrow for all Americans.

Most Americans have lived through the past quarter of a century which has led to what may again be a turning point in American history. However, now may be a time when it is necessary for us all to review the events of the past, events that have brought us to the hard decisions we must face in the weeks ahead.

In 1960 most Americans viewed theirs as a progressive nation capable of leading the peoples of the world toward a more hopeful future. America played a dominant role during this period, united to many nations through ties and treaties of differing kinds. On the international scene America was a major power, a power that seemingly found strength in unity with other nations.

During this period America also seemed strong internally, finding strength in a diversity which allowed a number of groups holding different views to compete with one another under rules of fair play. America seemed a nation where individual and group differences could somehow manage to come together in a general national unity. Under a series of strong Presidents, free Congresses, and a strong national conscience America seemed to have forged a national unity that cut across group differences.

In retrospect, this seems not to have been the case. The bright decade of the 1960s began with a dynamic new president, a challenge to conquer space "for all mankind," a desire to help resolve the problems of our world neighbors through aid and alliances, and a decision to make our own country a place where all citizens could lead peaceful and free lives. It was a time of challenge and optimism.

Then, the impossible happened, unexplained acts that revealed an underlying sickness. The young President was struck down by an assassin in Dallas, Texas. Within the next few years a major black advocate of nonviolence and the President's younger brother were also assassinated in a growing atmosphere of fear and mistrust. By the late 1960s most Americans felt a measure of guilt, yet no one blamed himself. It was too easy to blame others—the racists, the communists, the radicals, the reactionaries. It was not a bright period in American history. Abroad there was involvement in an unpopular war in Southeast Asia, the Middle East crisis, the energy crisis, the shaky monetary situation, and growing troubles with our European alliance partners. At home there were demonstrations, drugs, student unrest, and finally, the urban riots in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, and even Washington, D.C.

The early 1970s saw Americans becoming more divided, and national unity seemed a thing of the past. By 1979 America had completely pulled out of Southeast Asia leaving Asia to the Asians. The growing accords with the Soviet Union and the continual financial crises caused by trade deficits and inflation forced America toward a position of isolation in world affairs. Reeling from continuing economic crises and sickened by political scandals, the people of America in a special presidential election in 1980 elected as President the candidate of the newly formed American Liberty Party.

America's participation in world affairs then deteriorated rapidly. In 1980 America cancelled all alliances and withdrew to "Fortress America" protected by her nuclear arms. By 1981 all of Southeast Asia and Japan had fallen to China. In 1982 the combined armies of the Arab Command destroyed the state of Israel. In 1985 the Soviet Union and the other nations of Europe formed a defensive alliance. Throughout, America remained aloof and withdrawn.

By 1982 Congress had repealed the Civil Rights acts which had been enacted earlier. During the same year the power of the Supreme Court was severely restricted and Bible study was made mandatory in all schools. In 1983 restrictions were placed on the ownership and use of all major energy-using industrial equipment. That same year the space program was terminated as "unnecessary and unduly costly." In 1984 a state church and a new cabinet-level Department of Ministry were created. The next year it was announced that any attack upon the United States would be met with an immediate, automated nuclear response.

America continued to refrain from any unnecessary world contacts. In 1989 the growing animosity between the United European Powers and the Chinese Defense Association (now including India) resulted in a brief nuclear war which left both blocs devastated. In 1991 uprisings saw Whites in South Africa and Rhodesia either murdered or forced to flee into exile in South America. By the year 2000 most countries of Europe and Asia were still attempting to recover from the devastating Third World War of 1989. African states were competing for economic and military dominance on the African continent. In the Western hemisphere, Mexico and Brazil divided the Latin American states into two spheres of influence.

Within the United States tensions continued to rise. By 1986 all nonwhite citizens were required to obtain special identification cards. In 1989 the Attorney General placed the NAACP, CORE, the Black Alliance Party, and the Asian-American People's Party on the subversive list and most leaders of these organizations were jailed by order of a special Congressional committee.

Following the African uprisings of 1991 the American President announced a state of martial law and suspended temporarily the rights of all "persons of African descent" in the United States. Under the sweeping powers of martial law, mass arrests of both Blacks and Whites took place across the nation. As in the World War II internment of Japanese-Americans, longdeactivated military bases were reopened as detention camps. By 1993 every Afro-American in the United States was living behind barbed wire and an estimated 70,000 Whites had been sentenced to prison terms by special military courts.

In 1994 a constitutional amendment stripped all Afro-Americans of their U.S. citizenship. The argument was that "people" and "citizen" are synonomous terms describing the political body in a democratic nation, and as Afro-Americans were designated as not being a part of the "sovereign people" they could therefore, by definition, not be citizens or claim the rights and privileges of citizenship. By 1995 the Afro-Americans had once again become disenfranchised Americans. The ex-citizens, now declared wards of the U.S. government, were soon established on reservations as had been the American Indians at an earlier point in history.

The Federal Works Bill of 1995 established the "areas" or reservations near large urban centers and provided legislation allowing the forced labor of Blacks to be used to construct the large, gray skyscrapers that soon became the hallmark of area towns. In 1997 President Richards announced that the last areas had been completed and occupied. From 1995 forward no Black could leave the areas without a special labor pass secured from the Department of Afro-American Labor Usage.

Americans had thus reached a seeming solution to their problem. Internationally America had completely withdrawn to a position of isolationism protected by her automated nuclear defense system. The Navy had been disbanded, the Army had been reduced in strength to become the national police force, and the Air Force had become a mere handful of technicians manning the defense system. Internally America had achieved a level of stability. All Oriental-Americans and Arab-Americans had emigrated or been deported by 1995 and the Afro-Americans had been restricted to a second-class existence reminiscent of the days of slavery in earlier American history.

Although certain physical luxuries were provided, existence in the areas had a devastating psychological impact upon most Blacks. The psychological violence wrought by their neo-slavery condition would seem to explain, to some degree, the passive acceptance of their fate by most Blacks during this period.

The Administration (continued by popular acclaim) seemingly felt that America was now under control and that law, order, and a moral society for all "citizens" was a reality rather than a future goal.

Reports of the last few hours, however, indicate that such was not the case. We now know that a small underground, which had functioned throughout this period, had by the year 2000 begun to formulate a plan for the organization of a black army and a coordinated uprising of all of the areas across the nation. Exactly how this was possible is not yet clear, although we do have some indications. The armed forces of the United States, reduced to an automated defense aimed at foreign enemies and active only as a centralized, relatively weak national police force, were quickly overcome by the attack mounted against them last night. Although it is more difficult to understand how such a black army could be raised and equipped, there are again clues. Each area was a self-contained living unit, autonomous for all practical purposes except for the existence of the white commissioners. While the police guarded the boundaries of the areas they did not interfere with the black area police who, though unarmed, were to maintain order within the areas. We now know that this lack of surveillance allowed the Blacks to organize and train an army. We know also that certain areas were able to turn some of their facilities to the manufacture of the weapons which allowed the Afro-American Army to take control of the police checkpoints and arms warehouses last night. Coordination was undoubtedly achieved through the passing of commands from one work gang to another in our cities. It also seems likely now that certain white Americans were involved in giving assistance to the movement but the degree of this aid is not known at the moment.

Whatever the causes that led to this morning's events, one thing is very clear—America is at a crossroads. Although the Afro-American Army has the ability to wreak vengeance upon America, so far it has chosen not to do so. Instead, the Blacks have given America a chance, a chance finally to live up to the ideals voiced in the original Declaration of Independence and in the American Constitution in force before the 1980s. The choice is for white Americans to make. The *Manifesto* states that Blacks will not be a part of the present political process. It is up to the rest of America to decide how to re-establish democracy in this land of ours, how to ensure that all of our people, black and white alike, are guaranteed the rights of citizenship.

This is the first uncensored news report this reporter has written in seventeen years and it is a good feeling to be able once again to tell something of the truth. I do not know how my fellow citizens will react to the events of last night and today.

For me these happenings open new possibilities, possibilities for putting America back on the path toward its original goals of individual freedom, dignity, and brotherhood.

The New Way

"All right, class, if we can . . . Good morning, William. A bit late today, aren't you?"

"Yes, Ms. Jennings. I stopped up on the third level to watch the metal recovery team leave for the surface. I wish I could go."

"Yeah," said Timmy Ray. "I don't see why we have to wait until we're sixteen to get our first visit on the surface. And even after that most people get to go up only once a year for five or six hours at most."

"We've argued about this all before," said Suzanne Ames. "You guys know how dangerous it is up there with all of the radioactivity and stuff. You can't even breathe without a converter and those are too expensive to let people run around up there for no reason."

"I know," said Bill, "but I would still like to go up there."

"Maybe," said Ms. Jennings. "although you've all seen the films of the surface."

"That's not the same," George and Timmy chorused.

"No, I know its not. In some ways it would be better if you could all see it in person at an earlier age. It might help you understand better. Living in an underground city like this isn't easy, especially when you know the kind of life people once had on the surface."

"My dad thinks we could send a lot more teams to the surface to recover metal and books and stuff if we didn't spend so much time on other things," said Jane Riotsi.

"I don't think so," chimed in the self-appointed class scientist, John Murtillo. "We have to have the tank farms and other things in order to live here now and we need people working on new inventions for us. We're never going back to the surface; nobody will for maybe another two hundred years. At least not to live, they won't."

"Maybe we can discuss this later," broke in Ms. Jennings. "Right now, how many of you looked at the chapter on frustration?"

"Ms. Jennings," asked Ken Hitachi, "I don't see how people could be that violent. I can understand it in older times, but in

1986 people knew they couldn't afford a war, and psychology and psychiatry should have been around long enough to have changed things by then."

"If they hadn't been so stupid the war would never have happened and we would still be living on the surface," said Jane. "Anybody should have known that so many people and countries couldn't hate and fear like that and not fight in the end."

"They knew," said John, "but they didn't know how to solve their problems. Look at the United Nations and all the conferences they held. They never accepted the truth that until you can get individuals to change and not hate, you'll never get groups of people to change."

"I don't know if that's true," Ms. Jennings added, "but we think it's at least part of the answer.

"Ken, look at how frustrated Bill and Timmy are because they can't go up to the surface yet, or how Jane thinks the people back in the 1970s and 1980s were stupid. It shows how difficult things might have been back then when people didn't really know the problem and didn't have the training in psychology that we have nowadays."

"But we aren't violent!" burst out Timmy.

"No," said Ms. Jennings, "but you still haven't learned to channel your frustrations properly. None of us has really learned how yet. It's all still so new. We need more time to develop and learn new techniques, ways to help us handle any frustrations we might feel so that hatreds will never develop and acts of violence won't occur."

"The textbook said that violence doesn't have to be physical, that it can be psychological too," said Suzanne. "Being a Black or Chicano or Indian or even a woman in 1980 was bad because you felt put-down by others; it was almost as if you weren't as good as they."

"That's right," said John. "My Spanish ancestors were shoved around a lot by the Anglos. Even after the physical violence stopped they still knew they weren't wanted in a lot of places. That could really get to your head and mess you up psychologically. It's no wonder they had all of that racial trouble in the world then."

"Bill," asked Ms. Jennings. "How would you describe to a stranger what we are doing here under the Mountain to try to stop that type of violence from happening again? What are we trying to learn now that will keep all of the underground cities from eventually fighting as the old nations did?"

"Well, we're trying to learn how to control our own emotions so that we can channel frustrations and hatreds safely. We've learned, too, although people still argue a lot. At least it's been a long time since we've had any real fights or anything in our city. We might not even need a police force much longer, some people think."

"Ms. Jennings," asked Tim, "do you think that people in the other underground cities, even cities in other countries, are learning this too? I know the radio transmissions say so, but what if they're not? I mean what if our city and maybe New Salt Lake both want to recover metal and things from old Los Angeles and there isn't much left. Countries always fought over stuff like that. Do you think that would happen now?"

"She can't answer that, Tim! Nobody can," said Suzanne.

"That's right," said Ms. Jennings. "We don't know. We know that all of the cities are now teaching and using psycho-manipulation techniques."

"Yeah!" added Jane. "But my grandfather said that the wrong people could use the technique to control everyone and set up some sort of dictatorship or something."

"Yes, Jane. That could perhaps happen if we aren't careful enough," said Ms. Jennings. "Psycho-manipulation might help resolve the problems that once led people to act violently, [illegible] we don't know that for sure yet. It might indeed be used for the wrong ends by the wrong people. Psychological techniques are tools, as atomic energy was, and they can be used for both good and bad purposes. Unfortunately we can't tell ahead of time what will happen. Now class, if you will turn to page 87 in the chapter on. . . ."

A Question of Freedom

The Time: A.D. 2010

The Place: Unity City, South African Alliance (formerly Johannesburg, Union of South Africa).

The Setting: In 1988 the black Africans of the Union of South Africa rose in violent revolt against the dominant white minority. Though lacking the sophisticated weaponry of the Whites, the larger black population was eventually to gain its freedom. The bloody revolution achieved its aims largely because of the support of other African nations and because of the failure of the United States and the European nations to intervene on behalf of the

South African Whites. A large number of both Whites and Blacks were killed during the eight-month revolt, while many Whites fled to Europe and Australia. The final result was complete freedom for the black majority.

Since 1989 the South African Alliance has been governed by the Blacks. The remaining white minority has lost i's political rights, has been restricted in its freedom of movement and organization, and has generally been forced to exist in a position roughly equivalent to that held by the black majority before their successful revolt.

The following discussion occurred during a recent meeting of the People's Freedom Movement, an underground group dedicated to freeing the Whites in South Africa.

"I don't know if we're ready for any public demonstrations yet," said Henry Vanderhoof. "It has been too difficult trying to organize groups in the other restricted white enclaves and to maintain our communication links. It's these damn curfews and Blacky's police checking our passes all the time."

"We've been through this all before," Wilhelm Krieger argued, "and I say that it's now or never! We have to make some sort of public demonstration of protest."

"I agree," added Elliott Winston. "Our people need to feel that something, anything, is being done. We also need an open, public demonstration of our cause both to the Blacks here at home and to the other peoples of the world. We need to generate some worldwide public support."

"You're right, Elliott," said Wilhelm. "Some sort of public protest march from our main church to the capitol to present a list of our complaints will get us press coverage without being too risky."

"Nuts!" burst out James Chamberlin. "You fellows are crazy! You're going to get people hurt and maybe killed for nothing. The Blacks aren't going to free us because we march around the block with letters of protest. The police and troops won't even let you get close to the capitol and they sure as hell won't allow press coverage. There's only one thing the Blacks will understand and that's force."

"You're wrong, Jim," cautioned Vanderhoof. "The Blacks have more people and more weapons than we do."

"They also remember all those years that they were ruled by our parents and grandparents," added Wilhelm Krieger. "They still have a lot of hatred built up. If we initiate any really violent action it could result in a bloodbath."

"I agree with you, Wilhelm," said Elliott. "We're in no position to stir up violence. It would only result in a large loss of lives, with even greater restrictions placed upon us, and would probably fail to generate the type of worldwide support that we want."

"I haven't spoken up until now," broke in Hartwig van der Meer, "but I agree with Wilhelm and Elliot. A strategy of nonviolence is the only way for us to achieve our goal of freedom. Nonviolence is a moral force that cannot be forever resisted. Ghandi and Martin Luther King demonstrated that."

"Well," said Vanderhoof. "I don't know if it matters whether or not it's all that moral, but I know that it's practical. Nonviolent action will help our cause. I think that violence at this point would be suicide."

"You're dead wrong," argued Jim Chamberlin. "You can try your way but it won't work. Nonviolent means aren't going to be effective. Some of us will be ready to carry on when you fail. An underground guerrilla activity is dangerous but it is the only thing that will eventually free us."

Epilogue: Three days later a crowd of some twelve thousand Whites gathered at the cathedral in the white enclave. One of their leaders, Elliott Winston, read a petition which was to be presented to the government of South Africa. . . .

The Games

From the *Encyclopaedia Pretharius*

The *Macumbian Theory* states that, because of the nature of humans and the social environment they collectively create for themselves, it is inherently impossible to eradicate violence among individuals and groups. For the good of society as a whole it therefore becomes necessary to control it effectively.

An amendment to the American Constitution in 1980 forbade the use of drugs and other mind-controlling or behavior-controlling techniques in attempts to limit violence. The amendment defined these techniques as being unduly restrictive of individual liberties. In line with the theory that an individual must be responsible for his or her actions, the Supreme Court in 1985 upheld mandatory death sentences for all acts of murder, and mandatory life imprisonment on the Dakota or Nevada reservations for all crimes involving physical violence. In line with the Macumbian Theory it thus remained necessary to establish a legal, socially acceptable outlet for violence-prone individuals. The first such step was the organization of the "death game" in southern California in 1987.

"The Games," as they are now known, are the logical outcome of the original 1987 game (which was then illegal). Over the years the competition came to be held weekly in 100 cities across the nation. The average death rate per game in 1998 was 19.8 persons (down 0.3 from the 1997 rate). The "Victory Games," held yearly in the Wyoming Game Park, are now seen by an estimated 97 out of every 100 American television viewers. The estimated payoff for winners in these world-series games is $68,000. The Games have provided Americans with a solution to problems involving violence by providing a means to channel violence into acceptable and profitable activities.

Through the Games (both from the arenas and from televised game-park competition), participant and observer are able to vent violent feelings legally. Taken together, the strict legal sanctions against offenders of the violence restrictions and the Games' legalized activities have provided Americans with what is rapidly becoming a safe, violence-free environment.

The following outline will give the reader an idea of the present scope of the Games in America:

I. Eligibility: There are no restrictions based on race, color, sex, or religious creed. All citizens over the age of 16 are eligible to participate. Competitive age and sex categories may be assigned upon request.
II. Individual or group categories of competition are available.
III. Competition to the death or to first-blood may be selected. (Victory Games competition is to the death.)
IV. Competition terrain categories include (1) water, (2) open areas, and (3) wooded areas.
V. Weapons categories include (1) unarmed, (2) bladed weapons, (3) firearms, and (4) mixed competition.
VI. All competition will be broadcast and televised.
VII. Competitors are awarded a percentage of the net proceeds from each competition.

The Judgment

"Mr. Johnings," commented Judge Rellingo, "I am somewhat at a loss for words. To be perfectly frank, I am not sure what to do in your case. In my nineteen years on the bench I have never heard of or encountered a case of murder. It seems clear that you did commit what would have once been defined as second-degree murder. Yet, the psychiatric doctoricians can find no abnormalities in your brain-wave patterns, no abnormalities in your responses to the Groterian Patterned-Response tests. The National Bureau of Scientific Investigation has been unable to uncover anything in your personal history which could explain your action, although they are really not geared for that type of detective work. All of the educational specialists who have testified during these hearings—all of the presently accepted educational theory—indicates that your action could not have occurred in our society—yet it did!

"Our society has experienced almost thirty years of conditioning for the rejection of violence. You yourself, according to reports, received three years of pre-school hypno-conditioning. Throughout your formal education you continued to receive the required hypno-conditioning treatments, to attend the required psycho-reaction courses, and even to participate in the optional program in psychic control. You therefore seem somewhat of an impossibility in our day and age. The court has been unable to establish a reasonable explanation for your actions. You would seem to threaten, to at least some degree, the basis of our present nonviolent society. Under our law we have no provisions for imposing an adequate punishment. In fact, we have no provisions at all for such a case. The court therefore wishes to take additional time for further consultation before deciding upon a judgment. We therefore ask you to return to these offices four weeks from today at 10:30 in the morning for sentencing. During this period we request that you refrain from discussion of your case with the news media and that you continue your daily meetings with the authorized representatives from the Commission on Psychic Phenomena. Thank you, Mr. Johnings."

Chapter 8

Resources and Activities

For Further Study

Over the past decade an increasing volume of research and writing on the meaning and causes of violence has been developed in large part because of the civil unrest during the 1960s and the response to our involvement in the Vietnam war. The following list of printed resources merely scratches the surface of this outpouring. The serious student of violence will find many additional references to books and periodicals cited in most of the works listed below. What will quickly become apparent is that we are still in great need of better answers to problems of violence at all levels—interpersonal, intergroup and international—than we now have.

General Works

Arendt, H. *On Violence* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1970).

Brinton, Crane. *Anatomy of Revolution* (1938) (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965).

Cior, Harry M. *Civil Disorder and Violence* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972).

"Collective Violence," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 391: 1–176, September 1970.

Partial Table of Contents: "Issueless Riots," G. T. Marx; "The Paradox of American Violence," H. D. Graham; "Police Violence and Its Local Support," W. S. Gamson and J. McEvoy; "Rebellion and Repression and the Vietnam War," R. B. Smith.

"A Special Section on Violence," *Esquire*, Vol. 68, No. 1, July 1967, pp. 39–67.

Feierabend, I. and R., and Gurr, T. R. (eds). *Anger, Violence, and Politics* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972).

Fortas, Abe. *Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience* (New York: New American Library, Signet Books, 1968).

Graham, H. D., and Gurr, T. R. (eds.). *History of Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (New York: Bantam Books, 1969).

Hertogs, K., and Artzt, E. *Violence: Causes and Solutions* (New York: Dell, 1970).

Hofstadter, R., and Wallace, M. (eds.). *American Violence* (New York: Knopf, 1970).

Hofstadter, R. "The Future of American Violence," *Harper's*, Vol. 240, April 1970, pp. 47–53.

Johnson, Chalmers. *Revolutionary Change* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966).

Kirkham, James F., *et al. Assassination and Political Violence: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970).

Nesbitt, William A. (ed.). *Data on the Human Crisis: A Handbook for Inquiry* (Albany: The State Department of Education, 1972).

"Patterns of Violence," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 364: 1–157, March 1966.

Partial Table of Contents: "Some Social Functions of Violence," L. Coser; "Violence and the Masculine Ideal," J. Toby; "Violence in American Literature," D. B. Davis; "Violence in City Gangs," W. B. Miller; "Violence on the Fanatical Left and Right," A. Forster.

Pinkney, Alphonso. *The American Way of Violence* (New York: Random House, 1972).

Prosterman, Roy L. *Surviving to 3000* (Belmont, Calif.: Duxbury Press, 1972).

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Introduction by Tom Wicker (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1968). (Kerner Report)

Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. *The Crisis of Confidence* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1969).

Skolnick, Jerome H. *The Politics of Protest* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969).

Taylor, Karl K., and Soady, Fred W. *Violence: An Element of American Life* (Boston: Holbrook Press, 1972).

"Violence in America," *Time*, Vol. 90, No. 40, July 28, 1967, pp. 18–19.

Animal Violence/Human Violence

Barnett, S. A. "On the Hazards of Analogies," *Scientific American*, February 1967, pp. 135–137.

Boulding, Kenneth. "Am I a Man or a Mouse—or Both?" *War/Peace Report*, March 1967, pp. 14–17.

Lorenz, Konrad. *On Aggression* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1966).

Montagu, Ashley (ed.). *Man and Aggression* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

Violence and the Media

Alloway, Lawrence. *Violent America: The Movies, 1946–1964* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1971).

Burnet, Mary. *The Mass Media in a Violent World*. Mass Communication Report No. 63. New York: UNESCO, 1971.

Holz, Robert. *Television Violence: A Paper Tiger?* CRC report No. 57. Boston: Communication Research Center, Boston University, September 1971.

"How TV Violence Affects Children—Official Findings," *U.S. News*. Excerpts from hearings by the Senate subcommittee on communications on a report to the Surgeon general by the Scientific advisory committee on television and social behavior, Vol. 72, March 21, 1972, pp. 92–95.

Greenberg, Bradley S., and Gordon, Thomas F. "Critics' and Public Perceptions of Violence in Television Programs Offered by Three Networks in Detroit, Mich.," *Journal of Broadcasting* Vol. 15, Winter 1970–1971, pp. 29–43.

Kael, Pauline. *Kiss Kiss Bang Bang* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968).

Lange, David L., *et. al.* (eds.). *Mass Media and Violence: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1969).

Larsen, Otto. *Violence and the Mass Media* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

Meyer, Timothy P. "Some Effects of Real Newsfilm Violence on the Behavior of Viewers," *Journal of Broadcasting*, Vol. 15, Summer 1970–1971, pp. 275–285.

Schaffer, Helen B. "Violence in the Media," *Editorial Research Reports*, May 17, 1972, pp. 377–394.

Crime and Punishment

Clark, Ramsey. *Crime in America* (New York: Pocket Books, 1970).

Geis, Gilbert. "Crime and Politics," *The Nation*, Vol. 205, No. 4, August 14, 1967.

Menninger, Karl A. *The Crime of Punishment* (New York: Viking Press, 1968).

Mitford, Jessica. *Kind and Usual Punishment: The Prison Business* (New York: Knopf, 1973).

Ohlin, Lloyd E. (ed.). *Prisoners in America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973).

Toch, Hans. *Violent Men: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Violence* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969).

Education

Fish, Kenneth. *Conflict and Dissent in High Schools* (New York: Bruce Publishing Co., 1970).

Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970).

Leonard, George B. *Education and Ecstasy* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1968).

Karagueuzian, Dikran. *Blow It Up! The Black Student Revolt at San Francisco State and the Emergence of Dr. Hayakawa* (Boston: Gambit, Inc., 1971).

Kohl, Herbert. *36 Children* (New York: New American Library, 1967).

Kozol, Jonathan. *Death at an Early Age* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1967).

Matza, David, "Rebellious Youth," *Youth and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 4, June 1970, pp. 455–472.

Scott, John Paul. "The Anatomy of Violence," *The Nation*, Vol. 200, No. 25, June 21, 1965.

Minorities

Augusta, Georgia, and Jackson State (Atlanta, Georgia: Southern Regional Council, Inc., Forsyth Street N.W. 30303, June 1970).

Brophy, William A., and Aberle, Sophie D. *The Indian: America's Unfinished Business* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).

Brown, Dee. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (New York: Bantam, 1971).

Brown, Douglas. *Against the World: Attitudes of White South Africa* (New York: Doubleday, 1969).

Burney, Elizabeth. *Black in a White World.* Number 5 in *The Economist Brief Book Series* (London: The Economist Newspaper, Ltd., 1968).

"Burundi: Slaughter of the Hutus," *Newsweek*, June 26, 1972, pp. 39–40.

"Colombia Trial Bares Life (Everyone Kills Indians) on Plains," *New York Times*, July 9, 1972, p. 9.

Conrat, Maisie, and Conrat, Richard. *Executive Order 9066* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1972).

Cooper, Paulette (ed.). *Growing Up Puerto Rican* (New York: New American Library, Mentor Books, 1973).

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1968).

Giffin, Fredrich C. (ed.). *Woman as Revolutionary* (New York: New American Library, Mentor Books, 1973).

Jackson, George. *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson.* Introduction by Jean Genet (New York: Coward-McCann, 1970).

Knowles, L., and Prewitt, K. *Institutional Racism in America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

Malcolm X. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Grove Press, 1965).

Marx, Gary T. *Racial Conflict, Tension and Change in American Society* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971).

Smith, Lillian. *Killers of the Dream* (New York: Anchor Books, 1963).

Takaki, Ronald T. *Violence in the Black Imagination* (New York: Putnam's, 1972).

Ecology

Commoner, Barry. *The Closing Circle* (New York: Knopf, 1971).

Falk, Richard. *This Endangered Planet* (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1972).

Ward, Barbara, and Dubos, René. *Only One Earth* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972).

International Violence

Gray, J. Glenn. *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle* (1959) (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1967).

Hersh, Seymour. *My Lai 4* (New York: Random House, 1970).

Mok, Michael. *Biafra Journal* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1969).

Morris, Marjorie, and Sauers, Don. *And/Or: Antonyms for Our Age* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967).

Moss, Robert. *Counter Terrorism*. Number 29 in *The Economist Brief Books Series* (London: The Economist Newspaper, Ltd., 1972).

Sheehan, N., and Kenworthy, E. W. *The Pentagon Papers* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1972).

"Terrorism Experts Suggest: 13 Ways to Deal with Violence," *U.S. News*, Vol. 70, June 28, 1971, p. 75.

"Violence—Worldwide Problem," *U.S. News*, Vol. 69, September 28, 1970, pp. 24–26.

Nonviolent Alternatives

Berrigan, Daniel. *No Bars to Manhood* (New York: Bantam Books, 1971).

Bondurant, Joan V. *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*. Revised edition (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1965).

Brock, Peter. *Pacifism in the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968).

Clark, Ramsey. "On Violence, Peace, and the Rule of Law," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 49, October 1970, pp. 31–39.

Fischer, Louis (ed.). *The Essential Gandhi* (New York: Random House, 1962).

Fuller, Buckminster. *Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970).

Lakey, George. *Strategy for a Living Revolution* (San Francisco, Calif.: Freeman, 1973).

McHale, John. *The Future of the Future* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969).

Meadows, Donella, *et al. Limits to Growth* (New York: Universe Books, 1972).

Sharp, Gene. *Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1970).

Skinner, B. F. *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (New York: Bantam/ Vintage, 1972).

Wagar, W. Warren. *Building the City of Man* (New York: Grossman Publishing Co., 1971).

Fiction and Drama

Bradbury, Ray. *Fahrenheit 451* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1953).

Brecht, Bertolt. *Mother Courage* (New York: Grove, 1963).

Dickens, Charles. *A Tale of Two Cities* (New York: The Modern Library, 1935).

Dostoevsky, Fyodor. *The Possessed* (New York: Modern Library, 1936).

Golding, William. *Lord of the Flies* (1955) (New York: Putnam's, Capricorn Books, 1959).

Hugo, Victor. *Ninety-Three* (1888) (New York: Bantam Books, 1962).

Huxley, Aldous. *Brave New World* (1932) (New York: Harper & Row, 1969); *Brave New World Revisited* (1958) (New York, Harper & Row, 1965).

Koestler, Arthur. *Darkness at Noon* (1941) (New York: New American Library, Signet Books, 1961).

Kopit, Arthur. *Indians* (New York: Bantam Books, 1971).

Melville, Herman. *Billy Budd* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1962).

Nordhoff, Charles, and Hall, Norman. *The Bounty Trilogy* (1932) (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951).

Orwell, George. *1984* (New York: New American Library, Signet Classic, 1961).

Paton, Alan. *Cry, The Beloved Country* (New York: Scribner's, 1961).

Shaw, George Bernard. *Man and Superman* (New York: Heritage Press, 1962).

Special Study Group. *Report from Iron Mountain* (New York: Dial Press, 1967).

Styron, William. *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (New York: Random House, 1967).

Trunbo, Dalton. *Johnny Got His Gun* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970).

Vonnegut, Kurt, Jr., *Slaughterhouse-Five* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969).

Action Projects

1. Plan an evening film festival for students in your school and their families and friends. Choose films that present as wide a range of views on violence as possible. Contact several key leaders in your community and an equal number of students from other classes and ask them to form a panel of reactors to the films. (Choose a good moderator from your class.) Use notes taken on the panel discussion and audience participation to begin assessing how important the study of violence appears to be to other students in your school and to people in your community. You may find that designing a short questionnaire and distributing it at the festival will enable you to form better judgments about the viewers' awareness, knowledge, and concern about this issue.

2. Begin recording any one of the following for one week:

(a) Television programming and commercials that cater to the viewers' supposed acceptance of violence as an inescapable part of life. Note the time spot during which the example occurs.
(b) Television programming that is seemingly devoid of violence. Again, note time spot.
(c) Newspaper accounts, editorials about violence. Note especially the kind of news that makes the front page; is it more or less violent than the news appearing elsewhere?
(d) Television programming and newspaper accounts that focus on nonviolent efforts to bring about change. Note especially the extent of this coverage, time spot on TV, and location in newspaper.

Summarize your findings. Does your evidence indicate that the mass media has any responsibility for the often expressed view that America is a violent society?

3. Do a careful tabulation of the number, types, cost, and general availability of toys in your community's stores that encourage an imitation of violent behavior and/or that teach children that violence is acceptable.

4. Form a photo-journalist team of fellow students who have access to movie or fixed-image cameras. Design a month's strategy for covering violent aspects of your school and community. You might try to capture:

- corridors during change of classes
- cafeteria during lunchtime (and immediately after)
- gym and athletic fields in use
- athletic contests
- administration and counselors' offices and detention hall, and your school's physical plant, in addition to regular classes

Those assigned the community might want to cover things such as:

- service units— police, fire, sanitation—in operation
- courts, jails
- busy streets, stores, restaurants
- waste treatment plants and garbage dumps
- hospitals, welfare agencies

The goal is to try to capture as many images as possible of the everyday violence in which many humans are enmeshed. With sensitivity your team will be able to assemble a provocative montage or documentary capable of arousing keen interest in the need to learn and do more about these community ills.

5. Visit a police station, newspaper, and district attorney's office in an attempt to assemble crime statistics for your community over a three- to five-year period. Study these statistics for changes or trends in numbers of violent crimes committed by categories. What factors might be responsible for these shifts or trends? Compare for differences by neighborhood. What could cause these differences? Interview police personnel. Ask them to share their explanations for the data you have collected. You may find that the police chief or district attorney will want to take the time to visit your class once they perceive the integrity and possible impact of your research.

6. Try to keep a record of violent events reported by the media that do not seem to be explainable by any of the theories of violence presented in this book. Bring this record into class for discussion.

7. Have interested students in your class divide into teams to interview various groups in your community to collect representative definitions of violence. Groups to be interviewed (at least three community people per representative group, but more would be desirable) could include physicians, psychiatrists, social

workers, teachers, lawyers, law-enforcement officers or officials, judges, bankers, prison officials, clergy, business people, corporation executives, city officials, legislators, minority representatives, parents, and children at 3-year age intervals (5, 8, 11, 14, 17). A math teacher and his class may be interested in helping you design the interview form and assisting in cross-tabulations. When you have gathered your data and combined the results of all interviews administered, analyze the differences among the definitions:

(a) Did most people within a group, lawyers for example, tend to gravitate toward a single definition? A similar one? Did some groups reflect a lack of consensus? How do you explain these results?
(b) Did female respondents, regardless of what interview group they were in, tend to cluster around a particular definition? Did this happen with male respondents as well? How might this be accounted for?
(c) Do the results indicate that age, position, sex, race, or level of education had any effect on how those interviewed defined violence?
(d) What tentative conclusions, if any, can you draw about how different professions or groups tend to define violence?

8. Get permission to attend several meetings of a local ROTC class if you are not enrolled in one. If you are not an ROTC student, try to observe the teaching, examine study materials, and interact with the students and instructor in as objective a manner as possible—much as a committed social scientist—realizing that whatever you experience will be filtered through your own value screen. Keep a diary on what you see and hear, what you think and feel about it and why. At the end of your visits, try to analyze the following:

(a) Why is this course offered in this school?
(b) Should the course be offered? Why or why not?
(c) Why do students enroll in an ROTC class?
(d) Could you be persuaded to enroll in this course? Why or why not?
(e) If you answered no to (d) above, might there be any conceivable circumstances that would make you change your mind?

If you are already enrolled in this course, try to answer (a), (b), and (c) above.

9. Collect, from fellow students, teachers, family, and friends, examples of violent behavior they have actually committed or have seen committed or have been the victims of. Categorize your collected statements according to the theories of causation in Chapters 4 and 5.

(a) Given *no* definition by you of violence, how many people gave you examples that fit the definition offered in this book? How many of these people included different views concerning the nature of violence?

(b) If you found it necessary to define violence for them, how many of these respondents gave you *additional* examples that did not adhere to the idea of violence as physical harm to a person or destruction of property?

(c) What do (a) and (b) above tell you about the adequacy of the working defintion of violence used in this book?

(d) Do all of the responses fall easily into your theory categories? If so, what might that indicate about these categories? If not, what new categories would you create? Can you construct a theory of violence, complete with an explanation chart, to go along with these new categories?

(e) If you were given the opportunity to write a book on violence, how would you define the concept? How would you organize the book? What would you include in each of the sections or chapters? What significant changes from what you have encountered here would you make? Why?

10. Invite representatives of minority groups within your community—Blacks, Indians, Mexican Americans, Jews, for example—to speak to your class or to a school assembly on "Violence in American Society: Causes, Trends, and End Results."

11. Plan a panel discussion around the topic "Under what conditions is violence justified?" Invite representatives from pacifist groups, minorities, the police, the military, the medical and legal professions, and veteran's organizations to participate.

12. Conduct a research project, using some of the references cited in the "For Further Study" section of this book, and try either to confirm or to disprove that "Violence is as American as cherry pie." Be sure to consult other sources as well.

13. Over a period of several weeks, gather evidence for any one of the following data sets. In each case, evaluate your results in terms of theories of violence presented in this book and share your findings with your class.

Set One: Using this book's definition of violence, search newspapers and magazines for evidence of group violence in this and other societies. Categorize these according to causes, numbers of people hurt or killed, value or amount of property destroyed, whether goal oriented or random, and whether the violence brought about constructive change.

Set Two: Using the same definition of violence, compose a list of feature films being shown in your area that clearly cater to the American public's supposed hunger for violent entertainment. Interview the managers of the theaters where these films are shown and try to determine whether or not there is a rise or drop in attendance during the bookings of such films.

Set Three: Analyze the content of selected speeches of important public officials at the local, state, and national levels. Keep a record of policy positions, words, figures of speech, or analogies that carry a violent message.

Set Four: Attend as many school athletic events and watch or read about as many professional sports contests as you can, keeping note of the number of accidental physical injuries that occur and the number of fights or near fights that break out. Also try to record spectator response to any fights.

Selected Resources for Teachers—General

Bienen, Henry. *Violence and Social Change: A Review of Current Literature* (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, for The Adlai Stevenson Institute of International Affairs, 1968).

Blumenthal, Monica, *et al. Justifying Violence: Attitudes of American Men* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1972).

Bohannon, Paul (ed.). *Law and Warfare: Studies in the Anthropology of Violence* (Garden City, N.Y.: American Museum of Natural History, Natural History Press, 1967).

Coser, Lewis A. *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York: The Free Press, 1956).

Davies, James C. *When Men Revolt and Why* (New York: The Free Press, 1971).

Dollard, J., *et al. Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967).

Fawcett, Jan (ed.). *Dynamics of Violence* (Chicago, Ill.: American Medical Association, 1972).

Feierabend, I., Feierabend, R., and Gurr, T. R. *Anger, Violence and Politics* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972).

Flanigan, William H., and Fogelman, Edwin. "Patterns of Political Violence in Comparative Historical Perspective," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 3, October 1970, pp. 1–20.

Friedrich, Carl J. *The Pathology of Politics* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

Gil, David G. *Violence Against Children* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970).

Graham, Hugh D., and Gurr, Ted R. (eds.). *The History of Violence* (New York: Bantam Books, 1969).

Grinshaw, Allen Day. *Racial Violence in the United States* (Chicago, Ill.: Ardine Publishing Co., 1969).

Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970).

Johnson, Chalmers. *Revolutionary Change* (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, 1966).

Kahn, Herman. *On Escalation*. Revised edition (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1968).

Marty, William R. "Nonviolence, Violence and Reason," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 33, February 1971, pp. 3–24.

Masotti, Louis H., and Bowen, Don R. (eds.). *Riots and Rebellion: Civil Violence in the Urban Community* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, Inc., 1968).

Megargee, Edwin I. *The Psychology of Violence and Aggression* (Monograph). (Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Corporation, 1972).

Moss, Warner (ed.). *Violence* (Williamsburg, Va.: The College of William and Mary, 1968).

Nelson, Stephen D. *The Concept of Social Conflict* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: CRUSK, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1971).

Skolnick, Jerome H. *The Politics of Protest* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969).

Spiegel, John P. "Theories of Violence: An Integrated Approach," *International Journal of Group Tensions*, Vol. 1, January/March 1971, pp. 77–90.

Usdin, Gene (ed.). *Perspectives on Violence* (New York: Brunner/Mazel Publishers, for the American College of Psychiatrists, 1972).

Van den Haag, Ernest. *Political Violence and Civil Disobedience* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1972).

Von der Mehden, Fred. *Comparative Political Violence* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973).

Resources for Designing Instruction

1. *Readings/Guides*

Blatt, Gloria Toby. *Violence in Children's Literature* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms Dissertation Copies, P.O. Box 1764, 1972).

Coles, Robert, *et al.* "What Should Social Science Teachers Teach Their Students About Violence in the United States Today?" *Social Education*, February 1969, pp. 168–171.

Dante, Harris L. "The Kent State Tragedy: Lessons for Teachers," *Social Education*, April 1971, pp. 357–361.

Henderson, George (ed.). *Education for Peace: Focus on Mankind.* 1973 Yearbook, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1973).

Nesbitt, William A., Abramowitz, Norman, and Bloomstein, Charles. *Teaching Youth About Conflict and War*, in *Teaching Social Studies in an Age of Crisis*, No. 5 (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1973).

Pickus, Robert, and Woito, Robert. *To End War* (Chicago, Ill.: World Without War Publications, 1970).

Wulf, Christoph (ed.). *Handbook on Peace Education* (Frankfurt/Main, Germany: International Peace Research Association, Education Committee, 1974). Available in the U.S. from the Institute for World Order (see *Organizations*).

2. *Films—Sources*

A quick look through the current catalogues of major film distributors will turn up many excellent possibilities for a media-oriented exploration of violence. The following are valuable:

Dougall, Lucy. *War, Peace Film Guide*. Revised edition (Chicago: World Without War Publications, 1973). Available from World Without War Publications, 7245 So. Merrill, Chicago, Ill. 60649.

Media and Methods—monthly (134 N. 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107).

New Cinema Review—monthly (80 Wooster Street, New York, N.Y. 10012).

Cineaste—quarterly (144 Bleecker St., New York, N.Y. 10012).

See Magazine—six issues annually (38 West Fifth St., Dayton, Ohio 45402).

The following films merit special mention as data sources and mind-stretching vehicles for use in any inquiry into the meaning of violence. They have been either previewed or used in in-service programs conducted by the Center for Teaching International Relations, University of Denver.

An American Time Capsule (color, 3 min.). Pyramid Films. (The last 200 years of American history, much of it violent, in three minutes of film utilizing a "flash-frame" technique. Useful for motivating students to create their own film montage of what violence means to them.)

Animal War, Animal Peace (B/W, 25 min.). McGraw-Hill Films. (Explores concepts of aggression, conflict, violence, surrender, and territory among animals. Useful as an introduction to ideas of Konrad Lorenz, Robert Ardrey, and others. Questions why humans often go for the jugular when in conflict with their own kind, whereas other forms of life usually do not.)

Chaos and Conflict (B/W, 30 min.). Audio-Visual Center, Indiana University. (Examines limited war and internal wars, crucial factors of availability of weapons and escalation, and spread of limited wars through superpower involvement.)

The Children (color, 7 min.) Time-Life Films. (A beyond-the-ordinary "save the children" anti-war film that leaves the viewer questioning his own responsibility for the violence visited upon children of the world.)

Christians at War: The People of Northern Ireland (color, 50 min.). Time-Life Films. (Frustrated expectations, conflict, violence, and fear; a chronicle of how and why the social contract in Northern Ireland was suspended.)

College Daze (B/W, 29 min.). Time-Life Films. (Yet another way of grappling with definitions of violence—a youth's adjustment to, in this film-maker's view, the "dehumanized processing" of students by American colleges and universities.)

Conference (B/W, 10 min.). Pyramid Films. (An assortment of characters—businessman, cowboy, radical student, bikini-clad woman, Christ-like figure, and clown—gather around an executive-suite conference table. A blackout descends, a shootout occurs, and only five of the six people emerge from the fracas. Who did violence to whom and why?)

Corrida Interdite (color, 10 min.). Pyramid Films. (A slow-motion depiction of both the violence and the majesty of a Spanish bullfight in which the matador becomes the victim.)

The Desert (B/W, 16 min.). Pyramid Films. (A frighteningly realistic fantasy of a boy playing at war with the rusted remains of an anti-tank weapon on a deserted beach, who is shocked from his play when he discovers that the cannon is being loaded and aimed directly at him. Film's message: weapons are made to be used.)

End of the Dialogue (color and B/W, 50 min.). Morena Films. (A brooding and fearful account of apartheid in South Africa from the perspective of that country's Blacks and Coloreds. Filmed illegally by underground film crews; packs a wallop.)

Frankenstein in a Fishbowl (color, 43 min.). Time-Life Films. (A painful statement of how our culture pushes women to extreme limits in order for them to remain or become physically youthful and beautiful.)

Good Night Socrates (B/W, 34 min.). Contemporary Films, McGraw-Hill. (The destruction of an old Greek neighborhood to make way for an urban renewal project . . . , through the eyes of a Greek-American boy.)

Home of the Brave (color, 3 min.). Pyramid Films. (Another well-done "American Time Capsule" genre film, this one capsulizing in a torrent of images white man's dispossession of the Western Indian. A highly emotional, thought-provoking film on a lingering facet of violence in America.)

¡Huelga! (color, 50 min.). Contempory Films, McGraw-Hill. (A *cinéma vérité* ("film truth") depiction of the Delano Grape Strike which sought to redress the economic deprivation suffered by California farm workers.)

Living (*Vivre*) (B/W, 8 min.). Contemporary Films, McGraw-Hill. (Selected newsreel footage depicting the impact of international violence on the lives of people in various war-devastated areas. No dialogue; the faces of these people tell it all.)

Living Off the Land (color, 32 min.). Time-Life Films. (A white father and son scavenge through garbage piles for the scrap metal that provides their sustenance. A compelling document on both the degradation and heroism of humans trapped in a "pocket of poverty.")

Mahatma Gandhi (B/W, 25 min.). McGraw-Hill Films. (A biography of Gandhi. Includes India's struggle for independence and an exposition of Gandhi's nonviolent philosophy. Useful for a fundamental understanding of the possibilities of nonviolent action.)

The Other Side (B/W, 10 min.). Pyramid Films. (A disturbing film experience evoking several forms and levels of violence acted out in silence within a bare-walled town square.)

Part of the Family (color, 75 min.). Film Images. (A rare visual-auditory experience which brings together and gives meaning to the violent deaths of three young Americans in 1970: Allison Krause at Kent State, Carmine Macedonio in Vietnam, and Phillip Gibbs at Jackson State. Bereft of polemics, it challenges the rhetoric of violence in a stunningly direct statement of what these deaths mean to three families and a nation.)

The Rude Awakening: Brazil (B/W, 25 min.). McGraw-Hill Films. (Depicts problems of class cleavage, unlanded peasantry, and political instability. Although the actors have changed, Brazil's problems remain.)

The Season (color, 15 min.). Contemporary Films, McGraw-Hill. (An indictment of the commercialization of Christmas—violence to the spirit of a season.)

Sky Above (color, 9 min.). Pyramid Films. (By juxtaposing a boy's existence in a city slum and his visions of running free through a forest, this film pushes the viewer to wrestle anew with definitions of violence.)

The Spanish Turmoil (B/W, 64 min.). Time-Life Films. (The first of these two reels (30 min.) is a first-rate account of why groups sometimes resort to violence to bring about a change in their condition.)

Star Spangled Banner (color, 5 min.). Pyramid Films. (A high-impact depiction of the meanings of violent death evoked through the shooting of an American soldier on patrol, seemingly in Vietnam. Background consists of "Grass Roots" rock music version of "The Star Spangled Banner.")

The Things I Cannot Change (B/W, 58 min.). Contemporary Films, McGraw-Hill. (The cycle of unemployment, poverty, and social ostracism viewed from the perspective of a Canadian family in Montreal.)

A Time for Burning (B/W, 58 min.). Contemporary Films, McGraw-Hill. (A gripping case study of racial conflict in a midwestern American city. Adopting the *cinéma vérité* film technique, it is a near-ideal vehicle for applying the theories of violence outlined in Chapters 4 and 5 of this book.)

Time of the Locust (B/W, 12 min.). American Documentary Films. (An indictment of United States-sponsored violence in Vietnam, 1964–1966.)

Tokyo—The Fifty-First Volcano (color, 51 min.). Time-Life Films. A kaleidoscope of images of the world's largest city. Massive urban problems—pollution, crowding, violence, transportation—lead to serious questions about the city as an ultimate expression of humankind's creative potential.)

Under the Juggernaut (color, 9 min.). Time-Life Films. (Political assassination in recent American history is the theme of this wrenching film experience which attempts to capture on film what this film-maker believes is an essence of our times.)

Vinoba Bhave (Walking Revolution) (color, 39 min.). International Film Bureau. (A case study of a nonviolent movement for land reform in India modeled on Gandhi's principles.)

Vive La Causa (color, 22 min.). Office for Audio-Visuals, United Church of Christ. A quietly stated film documenting the United Farm Worker's nonviolent strategy for improving the lot of migrant farm workers.)

War Plans (B/W, 25 min.). Audio-Visuals Center, Indiana University. (Deals with war strategies of massive retaliation, flexible response, and deterrence. Presence of nuclear weapons is accepted as a "given.")

The following animated films are also useful in any study of the meaning of violence. These, too, have been implemented by the Center for Teaching International Relations.

Bags (color, 10 min.). Pyramid Films. (Fable of a bag that begins devouring a collection of objects in an attic. Tyranny is finally met with counterforce, but in the end the old system remains.)

Claude (color, 3 min.). Pyramid Films. (A football-headed boy, tossed around by his parents, devises an interesting revenge. Useful for examining relevance of conflict and violence to child-rearing practices.)

The Concert of M. Kabal (color, 6 min.). Pyramid Films. (The setting is a musical performance in which Mme. Kabal captures her husband's attention through the deft wielding of a meat cleaver. Viewers will undoubtedly laugh at these violent acts much as young children laugh at violent Saturday morning TV cartoons. Why, and at what cost?)

Crunch Crunch (color, 9 min.). Pyramid Films. (A satire on war and violence. Various lower forms of life devour each other in turn. Enter *homo sapiens* who can slay them all but turns to killing his fellow creatures for wealth and glory. In the end, other forms of life devour him.)

The Giants (color, 10 min.). Sim Productions. (An animated/documentary-clip mix about two antagonists who plunge into mutually aggressive behavior aided and abetted by their own personal giants, who provide each antagonist with greater capabilities for mass destruction and for more creature comforts. The question becomes who controls whom—antagonists or "giants?")

The Hand (color, 19 min.). McGraw-Hill Films. (A hand repeatedly attempts to gain control of a potter and finally succeeds. An allegory of repression and violence.)

The Hat (color, 15 min.). McGraw-Hill Films. (Examines the utilities of boundaries among individuals, groups, and nations—through two soldiers patrolling a boundary between their territories. Good vehicle for inquiring into means now available for controlling large-scale violence.)

The Hangman (color, 12 min.). McGraw-Hill Films. (Illustrated narration of a poem about a town terrorized by a stranger and the townspeople's resignation to his acts of violence. Useful for an inquiry into forms of violence supported by apathy.)

Little Island (color, 30 min.). McGraw-Hill Films. (Three characters—good, beauty, and truth—arrive on an island and attempt to communicate with each other . . . with little success. No spoken dialogue; beautiful art work and musical score convey the meaning. This film provides the basis for a wide-ranging exploration of many facets of conflict and violence.)

Machine (color, 10 min.). Pyramid Films. (Cliché of human beings giving up their humanness to machines, but this film statement of that theme is unusually captivating.)

No. 00173 (color, 9 min.). Contemporary Films, McGraw-Hill. (An allegory of the dehumanization of humankind through strict adherence to values imbedded in concepts of "technological advancement" and "efficiency.")

The Pistol (color, 10 min.). Pyramid Films. (An engrossing statement about humankind's penchant for shooting instead of talking its way out of conflicts.)

The Shooting Gallery (color, 6 min.). Sim Productions. (An award-winning allegory of the violence of political repression.)

Up is Down (color, 6 min.). Pyramid Films. (A boy sees things differently because of his preference for walking on his hands. Adults are sufficiently distressed to subject the boy to "behavior change therapy," leading to an interesting denouement.)

The Wall (color, 4 min.). Contemporary Films, McGraw-Hill. (A deceptively simple metaphor of how some people use each other as objects for their own ends.)

The following are addresses for film distributors mentioned in this section.

American Documentary Films
336 W. 84th St.
New York, N.Y. 10024
or
379 Bay St.
San Francisco, Calif. 94133

Contemporary Films,
McGraw-Hill
828 Custer Ave.
Evanston, Ill. 60202

Indiana University
Audio-Visual Center
Bloomington, Ind. 47401

Film Images
A Division of Radium Films
17 W. 60th St.
New York, N.Y. 10023
or
1034 Lake St.
Oak Park, Ill. 60301

International Film Bureau
332 S. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, Ill. 60604

McGraw-Hill Films
330 W. 42nd St.
New York, N.Y. 10036

Morena Films
African-American Labor Center
345 East 46th St., #200
New York, N.Y. 10017

Office for Audio-Visuals
United Church of Christ
512 Burlington Ave.
La Grange, Ill. 60525

Pyramid Films
Box 1048
Santa Monica, Calif. 90406

Sim Productions, Inc.
Weston, Conn. 16880

Time-Life Films, Inc.
100 Eisenhower Drive
Paramus, N.J. 07652

3. *Games*

Alternation. A simulation of the dynamics of internal revolt modeled on the domestic instability in Pakistan prior to the creation of Bangladesh. The game encourages students to seek alternatives to violence in settling intergroup conflicts. 13–36 players, 3–5 hours, $1 (do-it-yourself instructions). Available from Center for Teaching International Relations, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, Colo. 80210.

Cassandra. Survivors of a nuclear war are trapped in a room into which is piped a voice printout of a computer instructing the group in survival alternatives. A decision-making conundrum on whether or not to eject (and doom) one of the survivors is at the heart of this easy-to-run and inexpensive-to-assemble game. 12–40 participants, 2–4 hours. Directions available in *Simulation/Games/News*, Vol. 1, No. 3, September 1972.

The Cooperation Game. A game that places a premium on group cooperation and sharing in order to win. 12–40 participants, 2 hours. $50. Available from Training Development Center, 2 Pennsylvania Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10001.

Dignity. This game simulates the frustrations and deprivations of people trapped in urban slums. The goal of the players is to overcome economic deprivation and achieve dignity.

Disunia. Set in the twenty-first century on a different planet, this game is modeled on the issues confronting the American states during the period following the Revolutionary War, not the least of which was "maintenance of domestic tranquility." 20–35 players, 2–4 hours, $12. Available from Interact, P.O. Box 262, Lakeside, Calif. 92040.

Extinction. A board simulation game in which players' species compete for occupancy and survival in six different habitats on an island. Key processes emphasized: reproduction, migration, mortality, competition, predation, and genetic change. 2–4 players, 3–30 hours, $11.95. Available from Dept. SGN—Sinaver Associates, Inc., 20 Second Street Stamford, Conn. 06905.

Ghetto. A stimulation designed to have students experience vicariously some of the daily problems confronted by urban slum residents. 7–10 participants (more roles can be added), 2–4 hours, $20. Available from Academic Games Associates, Western Publishing Co., School and Library Department, 850 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022.

Guns or Butter. The dilemma faced by national policy makers regarding how to increase the real wealth and well-being of their country, thereby satisfying citizen demands while guaranteeing national security from external attack, lies at the heart of this simulation. Circumventing potential outbursts of large-scale violence, either domestic or international, is one of the key stakes for which players vie. 18–28 players, 1–2 hours, $25. Available from Simile II, Western Behavioral Sciences Institute, 1150 Silverado, La Jolla, Calif. 92037.

4. *Organizational Resources for Teaching about the Roots and Control of Violence*

A. Center for War/Peace Studies
218 East 18th Street
New York, N.Y. 10003

The Center for War/Peace Studies (CWPS) is probably the most active national nonprofit organization currently channeling a sizable annual budget into fostering a better public understanding about the dimensions of conflict, violence, and change. As a research, development, and consulting agency concerned with education about global interdependence, CWPS works with and through educational institutions and voluntary organizations across the United States. It promotes, among students and teachers in grades K–12, the search for constructive alternatives for the fulfillment of international responsibilities, the resolution of conflict without violence or war, and the furtherance of democratic values.

The Center's programs include: in-service and pre-service workshops for teachers; surveying and collecting materials suitable for developing global perspectives; creation of new materials where the need exists; an in-depth project in a large school district; publication of *Intercom* and *War/Peace Report;* and joint projects with many leading educational organizations and institutions.

B. Institute for World Order, Inc.
1140 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10036

For over a decade, the Institute for World Order (IWO) has actively fostered the development of curriculum materials and teacher training programs designed to help students in grades 7-12 learn more about the ubiquity and meaning of domestic and global violence. IWO's world order studies rely heavily on "futuristics" and value analysis, and focus on sharpening student skills of prediction and planning for preferred world systems based on the values of peace, social justice, economic welfare, political participation, and ecological balance.

IWO also works cooperatively with other similarly interested organizations in co-sponsoring university teaching and research programs, both here and abroad, and in encouraging public examination and support of world order concerns throughout the United States.

C. *A Selected List of Other Organizations in the Field**

* The African-American Institute
866 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017

American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

* American Universities Field Staff
3 Lebanon St.
Hanover, N.H. 03755

* Biological Sciences Curriculum Study Project
Box 930
Boulder, Colo. 80302

---

* Organizations which have developed collegiate curriculum materials on aspects of conflict, violence, and change during recent years.

Canadian Peace Research
Institute
199 Thonas St.
Oakville, Ontario
Canada

Carnegie Endowment for
International Peace
United Nations Plaza and
46th St.
New York, N.Y. 10017

* Center for International
Programs and Comparative
Studies
The State Education
Department of New York
99 Washington Ave.
Albany, N.Y. 12210

Center for Teaching About
Peace and War
780 University Center Building
Wayne State University
Detroit, Mich. 48202

* Center for Teaching
International Relations
Graduate School of
International Studies
University of Denver
Denver, Colo. 80210

Comparative International and
Global Survival Studies
School of Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Maine 01002

Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th St.
New York, N.Y. 10030

Consortium on Peace Research,
Education and Development
(COPRED)
Institute of Behavioral Science
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colo. 80302

* Education Development Center
15 Mifflin Place
Cambridge, Maine 02138

* Foreign Policy Association
(FPA)
345 East 46th St.
New York, N.Y. 10017

Minority Rights Group
36 Craven St.
London, WC2N, 5NG
England

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored
People
17090 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10019

National Council for the Social
Studies
1201 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

NOW, Inc. (Women's Rights)
P.O. Box 86031
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15221

* Overseas Development Council
1717 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

SANE
245 Second St., N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Sierra Club
1050 Mills Tower
San Francisco, Calif. 94104

Social Science Education
Consortium
855 Broadway
Boulder, Colo. 80302

* Social Studies Development
Center, Indiana University
1129 Atwater St.
Bloomington, Ind. 47401

United Nations Association of
the U.S.A.
833 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017

World Without War Council of
the U.S.
1730 Grove St.
Berkeley, Calif. 94709

Index

Abortion, 88–89
Alienation. *See* Systemic theories
Allende, Salvador, 72, 87
American Civil Liberties Union, 11
American Civil War, 26
American Revolution, 26
Amin, General Idi, 74–75
Animal life, destruction of, 3
Antiwar demonstrations, 79–80
Ashley, Karin, 69
Awami League, 4

Bangladesh, 3–4
Bengal, 3–4
Biharis, 4
Bingham, Representative Jonathan B., 9
Brown, H. Rap, 25
Broy, Representative William G., 9
Broyhill, Representative Joel T., 8

Camera, Dom Helder, 71–72
Carmichael, Stokely, 68
Celler, Representative Emanuel, 8, 89–90
Chávez, César, 86
Chile, 72, 87
Civil Rights Act—1958, 10
Civil Rights Act—1968, 7
  Anti-Riot Bill, 7–11
Cleaver, Eldridge, 68
Colonialism, internal, 20
Coups d'état, 16–17
Cuba, 57

Davies, James, 40–42
Deprivation theory, 36–42
  J-Curve, 40–42
  relative deprivation, 37–40
Dohrn, Bernardine, 70. *See also* Students for Democratic Society

Eisenhower, President Dwight D., 72–73
El Salvador, 83–84
Ethnic conflict. *See* Violence, racial, ethnic, and religious
Executive Order 9066, 75–77
Expectations theory, 42–44
  revolution of rising expectations, 43–44

Feierabend, Ivo and Rosalind, 45–46
Feuds, 28
FREE COG (Free Our Children from the Children of God), 12
Frie's Rebellion, 26
Frustration theory, 44–47
  and aggression, 44
  and society, 45
Futuristic scenarios, 91–104

"Games, The," 102–103
Greece, 73–74
Group conflict theory, 58–66
  class, 62–63
  international, 64, 66
  political stability, 64–65
  racial and ethnic, 59, 62
  regional, 63–64
  religious, 62
Group violence, 60–61
Guevara, Ernest "Che," 57–58, 69
Gurr, Dr. Ted Robert, 31, 37–38, 42, 56

Hershey, Lt. General Lewis B., 89–90
Holland, Representative Elmer J., 8–9

India, 58–59

Janowitz, Morris, 6
J-Curve Theory. *See* Deprivation theory
Jews, 46, 78–79
Johnson, Dr. Chalmers, 51, 54–55
"Judgment, The," 103–104

Kidnapping for Christ, 12
King, Dr. Martin Luther, 85
Ku Klux Klan, 27, 90

Labor unrest
  in Chile, 86
  in Japan, 68
  in United States, 30
  See also Violence, labor
Latin America, 69
  revolution and change, 57–58, 71–72, 83–84
Little Rock Crisis, 72–73
Lockwood, Wes, 12. *See also* FREE COG
Ludlow Massacre, 30
Ludovico technique, 13

McCamant, Dr. John F., 56
Marx, Karl, 63
Meany, George, 86
Middle East, 3–5, 46
Military Draft, 82–83, 89–90
Molly Maguires, 30. *See also* Violence in labor
Morgan, Robin, 70–71

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 10
Nesbitt, William, 25
"New Way, The," 98–100
New York Civil Liberties Union, 82
Nonviolence, 81–83, 86

Pacifism, 81–83
Pakistan, 3–4
Palestinians, 46
Pelosi, Lt. James J., 11
Political Systems, 53

"Question of Freedom, A." 100–102

Race Riots. *See* Violence, urban
Rahman, Sheik Mujibur "Mujib," 4
Rebellions. *See* Violence against the status quo
Relative deprivation. *See* Deprivation theory
Revolts. *See* Violence against the status quo
Revolutions
  in Latin America, 71–72
  See also Violence against the status quo *and* Violence, revolutionary
Riots. *See* Violence against the status quo
Rising expectations, revolution of, 43–44

Sand Creek Massacre, 29
Schwartz, Dr. David, 49–50
"Second Revolution, The," 92–98
Sharpeville Massacre, 77–78
Shay's Rebellion, 26
Skolnick, Dr. Jerome, 27, 31–32
Soviet Union, 78–79
Student demonstrations. *See* Violence, urban
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 69–70
  Weatherman faction, 70
Systemic theories, 48–58
  alienation and society, 49–51
  balanced societies, 51–53
  unbalanced societies, 53–58

Thurmond, Senator J. Strom, 8
Tories, 26

Uganda, 74–75
United States Military Academy, 11
Urban rioting. *See* Violence, urban

Vigilante groups, 28–29
Violence
  degees of magnitude, 16–22
  groups, 1950–1972, 16–22, 60–61
  inter-group, 18, 20
  international, 19–21, 24
Violence against the status quo, 67–87
Violence, agrarian, 26–27
Violence, in American West, 28–29
Violence, definition of, 34–35
Violence, explanations of (theories), 35–66
  conclusion, 66
  deprivation, 36–42
  expectation, 42–44
  frustration, 44–47
  group-conflict, 58–66
  systemic, 48–58
Violence, historical, 23–32
Violence in labor, 29–31, 89. *See also* Labor unrest
Violence, mental to physical, 15–16
  brainwashing, 16
  ethnic labels, 15
  gossip, 15
  rumor, 15
  solitary confinement, 16
Violence, racial, ethnic, and religious, 18–19, 27–29, 59–62, 74–79
Violence, reason for studying, 33
Violence, revolutionary, 16–17, 26–27, 57–58, 71–72, 83

Violence, science, technology, and energy, 21–22
Violence, separatist, 20, 63–64
Violence, student-oriented, 18
Violence to preserve status quo, 72–87
Violence, types of, 15, 22
Violence, urban, 5–7
  race riots, 5
  student demonstrations, 6
  urban rioting, 6

Warfare, 21
  causes of, 21
Warfare (continued)
  psychological, 21
Wars, costs of, 24
Weatherman. *See* Students for a Democratic Society
West Point. *See* United States Military Academy
Whales, 2
Whaling commission, 3
Whiskey Rebellion, 26
Women's Rights Movement, 70–71

Yakuza, 2
Young, Rev. Andrew, 6

HAYDEN
AMERICAN
VALUES SERIES:
Challenges & Choices

Series Editor: JACK L. NELSON, *Rutgers University*

Current Titles:

THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN, *Sylvia Feldman*

THE ENVIRONMENT: A Human Crisis, *Michael Piburn*

DISSENT AND PROTEST, *David Naylor*

CITY LIFE, *William Lowe*

URBAN GROWTH, *Paul Wilhelm & Robert Torrone*

WAR AND WAR PREVENTION, *Joseph Moore & Roberta Moore*

VALUES AND SOCIETY, *Jack L. Nelson*

VIOLENCE, *Charles Rivera & Kenneth Switzer*

RACISM AND PREJUDICE, *Charles Billings*

HEALTH CARE, *Ruth Kolman*

HAYDEN BOOK COMPANY, INC.
Rochelle Park, New Jersey

ISBN 0-8104-[illegible]